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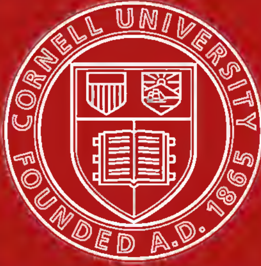

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THE POLISH PEASANT IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

VOLUME V

ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

THE POLISH PEASANT IN EUROPE *and* AMERICA

MONOGRAPH OF AN IMMIGRANT GROUP

By

WILLIAM I. THOMAS

and

FLORIAN ZNANIECKI

VOLUME V

ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

BOSTON

RICHARD G. BADGER

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INTRODUCTION

The preceding volumes of this work, though far from exhaustive, give a general outline of the psychology and organization of the peasant communities in Poland and of the evolution by which these communities, formerly almost isolated, became integral parts of the Polish national body. We have found that, except for the higher forms of cultural productivity (literature, art, science, large-scale industry and commerce) in which the peasant class did not appreciably participate and for the maintenance and development of a state system, of which Poland was deprived, our study has involved nearly all the sociological problems which can be raised with reference to a concrete, ethnically homogeneous society which has occupied a certain territory for many generations and come into the possession of a set of social values either originally produced or completely assimilated during its historical existence.

But during the last three-quarters of a century, numerous isolated components of the peasant (and lower city) class—individuals, marriage groups, sometimes fragments of large families and primary communities—have been leaving their original milieu and settling in America, intentionally or accidentally grouping themselves into colonies of various sizes scattered over the territory of an ethnically and culturally different society. The evolution of these fragments separated from their social whole presents a series of new problems, in-

teresting not only from the practical standpoint of the relation of the immigrants to American society but also in view of their general sociological significance.

The situation is really much more complicated than most of the popular American literature concerning immigration and Americanization sees it. It would seem *a priori* and it is generally assumed that the main problems concerning the immigrants can be stated in terms of individual assimilation or non-assimilation. Since the immigrant is no longer a member of the society from which he came, since he lives in the midst of American society, is connected with it by economic bonds and dependent on its institutions, the only line of evolution left to him seems to be the one leading to a gradual substitution in his consciousness of American cultural values for Polish cultural values and of attitudes adapted to his American environment for the attitudes brought over from the old country. This substitution may be slower or faster and various factors—among others living in racial groups—may influence its pace; but the immigrant (or the immigrant's descendant) is considered as still a Pole in traditions and attitudes, or already an American, or somewhere on the way from Polonism to Americanism, and it is supposed that the essential thing to be studied in relation to him is, how he makes this passage.

But in fact, if we look at the Poles in America not from the standpoint of Polish or American national interests but from that of an objective sociological inquiry, we find that the problem of individual assimilation is at present an entirely secondary and unimportant issue. Of course there have been many Poles—a few of the first, many more of the second generation—who have become individually absorbed in American society and

are now more or less completely assimilated; but the number of such cases in proportion to the total population of Polish origin in this country has been rapidly decreasing in the last fifty years. The fundamental process which has been going on during this period is *the formation of a new Polish-American society* out of those fragments separated from Polish society and embedded in American society. This Polish-American society as a whole is, indeed, slowly evolving from Polonism to Americanism, as is shown by the fact that its members, particularly those of the second generation, are continually acquiring more American attitudes and being more influenced by American civilization. But this "assimilation" is not an individual but a group phenomenon, to be compared with such processes as the progressive Germanization of Czech society up to a hundred years ago or the adoption of French culture by the Polish, Russian and German aristocracies in the course of the 18th century. Here the individual does not stand isolated in the midst of a culturally different group. He is part of a homogeneous group in contact with a civilization which influences in various degrees all of the members. And the striking phenomenon, the central object of our investigation, is the formation of this coherent group out of originally incoherent elements, the creation of a society which in structure and prevalent attitudes is neither Polish nor American but constitutes a specific new product whose raw materials have been partly drawn from Polish traditions, partly from the new conditions in which the immigrants live and from American social values as the immigrant sees and interprets them. It is this Polish-American society, not American society, that constitutes the social milieu into which the immigrant who comes from Poland

becomes incorporated and to whose standards and institutions he must adapt himself.

Such an evolution has evidently been socially unavoidable. The individual immigrant brings with him to this country his old traditions and attitudes, but of course not the social organization of the old country. He has a tendency to associate with people coming from the same milieu, and as soon as a group of them is agglomerated the old institutions begin spontaneously to reappear. But it is clear that they cannot be revived here with their full original content and significance. First of all, their reconstruction, being the outcome of an unreflective demand for old social values rather than the realization of a conscious plan to have the old system rebuilt, is a relatively slow process. But although the great majority of immigrants is of peasant origin and therefore very conservative, yet their original attitudes necessarily change in the new conditions with time and the demand for the old values grows less insistent and less definite. Secondly, the groups which the immigrants form here are evidently less coherent than the communities in Europe; around a nucleus of permanent settlers, which is usually of quite recent origin (in a few cases only reaching back to the third generation), there is a shifting mass continually recruited from outsiders who either leave after a short period or are at least for several years ready to leave at short notice. Moreover, whereas the old peasant or small town community was in a large measure self-sufficient, most of the needs of its members being satisfied within the group, the Polish-American community depends on the outside world in such a fundamental matter as economic subsistence, draws its income from work in American shops and factories and consumes almost exclusively

American products. For all these reasons, though the steady influx of new immigrants coming directly from Poland and full of old country memories prevents the interest in traditional institutions from disappearing entirely, the social organization which develops spontaneously here is necessarily only a very imperfect imitation of the old Polish original. It still centers around the family and the primary community, and the fundamental principles of direct personal solidarity and conformity with social opinion are still recognized; but of the many varied and coherent beliefs and customs which made these institutions so rich and vital most are either entirely forgotten or inefficient, or even ridiculous, and whatever new beliefs and customary forms of behavior may have developed in the new conditions are not sufficiently general, numerous, stable or binding to take adequately the place of the obliterated tradition.

Thus in order to satisfy the social needs of its members and to reach the necessary minimum of cohesion, the immigrant groups must sooner or later resort to reflective social activity, must supplement the spontaneous reproduction of old social forms by a new conscious organization. The situation is thus parallel to that which we have found in Poland where the traditional system which no longer satisfies the new needs is partly supplemented, partly supplanted by a new teleological structure (see Vol. IV). Naturally the new organization was begun and partly continued both in Poland and here by Polish leaders of the educated classes; in both cases there being no authority which could enforce the new system as compulsory, the latter had to be developed by voluntary cooperation and based on a mechanism for the satisfaction of certain common needs. Finally, the ultimate purpose of the organization in both countries

has been the social synthesis of many primary groups into a national body. But in all other respects the Polish-American system is, as we shall see, entirely different from the Polish peasant organization. It could not be otherwise. In Poland the leaders were representatives and members of large educated classes whose moral and material support they possessed; they were independent of the masses which they were organizing; the standard which they tried to impose on the peasants appeared in the eyes of the latter not as individual ideas but as social values already accepted and recognized by the upper part of the nation. In the Polish colonies of America, on the contrary, there was *no educated class;* the proportion of immigrants with higher education was always very small, for America did not offer as great opportunities of economic advance to them as to the manual workers, and those who were forced to emigrate for political reasons found a nearer refuge in Western European countries. The intellectual leader here is thus an isolated individual, often economically dependent on those whom he attempts to lead; unless he is a priest, his prestige is usually rather low and even if he could maintain his standards without proper social encouragement, he would still have to adapt himself to the demands of the masses rather than impose his ideals on the masses. Moreover, a large proportion of those who have played the part of leaders here left Poland because they had proved moral, intellectual or practical failures and hoped to have better luck in a new milieu where their past was unknown and they would meet but little competition. These, of course, had few, if any, ideals to impose. Finally, we see the leaders from the old country after a time supplanted by a new native-bred type on a lower cultural

level than the educated European Pole but better acquainted with local conditions.

Thus the efforts of the few national idealists from Poland who wanted the Polish-American institutions to be the instruments through which the Polish colonies in this country should become culturally and politically an integral part of Poland, were doomed to failure. The Polish institutions have, indeed, imported Polish cultural values, but they made a reflective or unreflective selection of them for their own local purposes and gave them a new meaning suited to the specific forms and conditions of Polish-American life, just as they did with American cultural values. Polish-American society has been living more on Polish than on American culture but as it developed along its own lines, Polish culture began to be, as American culture always was, actively interpreted and consciously or unconsciously modified rather than passively accepted. There is a difference of degree rather than of nature between the incorporation of a Polish and an American cultural value; both become vital parts of the life of Polish colonies only by taking their place in that complex which, however vague its outlines and indefinite its characteristics, may be already called Polish-American culture and which, though composed of elements of purely Polish and purely American origin, does not leave these elements to subsist in their purity and isolation but melts them into a new and unique combination to which it gives its own stamp. A good illustration is the language of the American Poles which, though still etymologically Polish, contains an increasing number of American slang words which are treated as roots and used with Polish inflexions and prefixes and whose syntax and literary application (the latter more easily influenced

than etymology by changes in the form of thought) are growing more and more specifically local and neither Polish nor American.

But the evolution of Polish-American society toward "national self-determination" has been particularly striking in the political field. The Polish-American institutions have always proclaimed officially their readiness to serve Poland. During the war the Polish-American society rendered notable services to the cause of Poland's independence and contributed largely to the relief of war sufferings, and at this moment it is working toward the establishment of permanent economic relations between this country and Poland. But these expressions toward Poland should be interpreted rather as manifestations of solidarity offered by a national group to another national group toward which it feels certain moral obligations and with which it is connected by various cultural bonds than as acts of cooperation which a nation demands and receives of its own members. We should not be misled by the fact that a large number of Poles in this country are almost exclusively interested in Polish affairs and are preparing to go to Poland as soon as stable and safe communication is established. Most of them are the unassimilated, those who have not yet become fully incorporated into Polish-American society. And for some who have really taken roots here going to Poland is as much *emigration* as *return*—means a search for new opportunities in a partly familiar but already in some measure foreign environment. We do not know how many will leave; perhaps as many as 15 per cent. or even 20 per cent. of the total number of Poles who are here now, but the Polish-American society will remain with all its institutions. For the latter exist in fact for this society, not for Poland; their

local activities and local interests prevail incomparably over those of which Poland is the object. Although they were originally planned to make the American Poles a part of the Polish national body, they have instead gradually shaped them into a separate and distinct Polish-American body. This new national group is always ready to help Poland, just as it is always ready to help America; certainly no immigrant group has done more for America during the war nor shown a more unswerving loyalty. But its primary interests are in its own national preservation and development, and it will not sacrifice these interests either to Poland or to America. It plans to cooperate in the future—more than it did in the past—in the development of American culture; but it wants to do it as a distinct and coherent national group. All this explains the seeming paradox of "dual allegiance." The Pole in this country sincerely claims to be equally loyal to America and to Poland—and he certainly is, because both loyalties are really only indirect. In fact, if not in theory, his ultimate and fundamental allegiance is to the Polish-American society, and both Poland and America are appreciated rather as the natural and necessary allies of this national group to whom the latter as a whole owes gratitude for its culture, for its economic and political security, and on whose prosperity its own prosperity and standing are dependent.

Of course this characteristic of Polish-American society does not wholly exhaust the situation. We mark here tendencies which in practice are only imperfectly realized. In particular, the organization of Polish-American colonies stands far behind that of any old national society permanently settled in a given limited territory, which it owns economically and politically, and

constructing its new institutions on the firm foundation of innumerable intricate social bonds inherited from the past. Just as the family and the primary community are here much weaker than in the old country, so the new teleological structure raised by reflective and voluntary cooperation, though imposing in its outside appearance, cannot be compared as to the complexity of its functions and as to its internal cohesion with the vast body of economic cultural and political institutions of a modern national group, or even with such a fragment of a national group as the Polish society in Posen under German domination, scarcely larger in size than the Polish-American society.

This imperfect development of the Polish-American social structure manifests itself most clearly in the fact that the combined influence of old and new institutions cannot prevent individual disorganization from assuming an unusual extension. Pauperism, sexual demoralization and the whole scale of delinquency are represented among American Poles in a much larger measure than among the population of Poland from which the immigrants are recruited. And even if we admit that it is usually the most unsettled part of the population which is inclined to emigrate, so that there is a larger proportion of abnormally inclined individuals among those whom Poland sends to America than among those who remain, still we shall find overwhelming evidence that a wide process of disorganization begins only in this country under the new conditions to which the immigrant is subjected, and that the Polish-American social system is not strong enough to prevent its growth. It does, of course, counteract it to a certain degree; but the task which it has to fulfil is beyond its power, since with the exception of a few American institutions which

take the pauper, the misadapted, the delinquent when the harm is already done, the Polish-American organization is the only factor which can have some preventive influence by keeping the individual under direct control and upholding certain standards of behavior which he understands and acknowledges. It must be realized that with a great majority of immigrants of the first and even the second generation the controlling, standardizing and organizing rôle of the American state and society has been up to the present almost negligible. The average Polish immigrant does not participate directly and individually in American life except through business relations. This is, of course, only natural, since no adequate efforts have been made to have him participate. We have seen in Vol. IV what long, disinterested and methodical work of education and organization is necessary in order to have the peasant understand the higher standards of Polish culture and to make him become an active and conscious member of the Polish national system, though this system has been created and maintained by the culturally productive part of his own race. How much more efforts based on adequate sociological knowledge would be needed on the part of American educators and organizers with the peasant immigrant in this country. Until methods are found of completely incorporating the immigrant into the intimate life of American society and making him take part in all lines of American culture—political, economic, moral, intellectual, religious, hedonistic—his life-organization will depend on the efficiency of the Polish-American structure, and any weakness of the latter must inevitably manifest itself in a personal decadence of its members. Individuals coming from a class in which all interests were traditionally social, all activi-

ties dependent on the response and recognition of the immediate environment, cannot remain socially normal if their new environment is not sufficiently close and coherent to follow, understand and appreciate all their tendencies, to encourage all socially desirable and discourage all socially undesirable acts.

Our study will thus concentrate on these two most important aspects of the life of Polish immigrants in this country—the formation of the Polish-American national society, and the individual disorganization resulting from the imperfect coherence of this society and its consequent partial failure to organize and control all the Polish immigrants in a manner sufficient to prevent the spread of moral decadence. When studying this second point we shall also have the opportunity of touching the question of the influence of American legal and social institutions upon the immigrant.

The problems raised in the first part will be sociological chiefly, in the narrow sense of the term, *i. e.*, concerning the content and meaning of social values—rules of behavior and institutions—and their evolution from pre-existing values under the influence of certain social attitudes. In the second part we shall have to deal almost exclusively with problems of social psychology—description and explanation of attitudes as evolving under the influence of certain values. This difference of problems forces us to use our materials in different ways. In the first part of the study, where our task is to describe synthetically and to explain genetically the general structure of Polish-American society, we shall have to leave out most of the materials on which our conclusions are based and use documents rather as examples helping the reader to understand certain particular aspects of the situation than as proofs of the

truth of our statements, which can be sufficiently verified by going to the sources quoted. On the contrary, in the second part where our problem is to analyze typical cases of individual disorganization, we shall give, as far as possible within the limits of this volume, the concrete data from which our generalizations are drawn.

PART I
ORGANIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

CHAPTER I

EMIGRATION FROM POLAND

Although we have met in our first three volumes many individual types of immigrants, seen the milieu from which they came and ascertained the circumstances and motives which induced them to leave their native country, it is now important to make a general and systematic survey of Polish emigration [1] as a background for the study of Polish colonies in America. For the act of emigration has a selective significance, implies not only definite practical conditions but also a definite psychological predisposition, and we should determine both in order to know what special tendencies, memories and expectations the immigrant brings with him to this country in addition to those general social attitudes and traditions which we have heretofore studied.

The fundamental point is that individual emigration is viewed by the social group as an undesirable and even socially abnormal phenomenon. Except for the relatively rare cases when the group desires to get rid of an individual considered socially harmful, no group likes to lose members. And even if the emigrant intends to return, still for the period of his absence he withdraws from the sphere of control of his group and develops

[1] The materials for this chapter were collected during my three years' experience as director of the Emigrants Protective Society in Warsaw (1911-1914) and during a study of season emigration which I made in 1914 as delegate of the Polish Agricultural Association for the Russian Minister of Agriculture. Most of the documents come from the archives of the Emigrants Protective Society.—F. ZNANIECKI.

interests which his group cannot share—facts which are resented by a community in proportion to its conservativeness and power of cohesion. Finally, leaving the community is always interpreted as a sign of dissatisfaction with the existing conditions and the remaining members are apt to condemn the emigrant whether they share his dissatisfaction or not, in the first case because he does not stay with them to bear solidarily the common burden and help to improve the situation, in the second case because his dissatisfaction where others are satisfied is more or less an act of revolt.

These usual reasons for condemning emigration are clearly manifested in the peasant primary communities when these are strong and coherent. We find them also, though less marked, in the educated spheres of Polish society. The latter, however, had another reason for opposing emigration, more important than all the others together: Under the peculiar conditions of Polish national life before the war, emigration was considered a national danger. When the national struggle for preservation had to be carried on exclusively by social forces, not only without the help of but against the power of the state, emigration weakened more or less the resistance of the nation by diminishing it numerically, by opening inlets for foreign expansion in the western and eastern borderlands and loosening Polish racial cohesion in territories with a mixed population, by wasting elsewhere activities which might be used for national work, finally by importing—this applied particularly to temporary emigration to Russia and Germany—foreign values which impaired the purity of national culture already strongly affected by forcible Russification and Germanization of schools and other public institutions. Of course this opposition of

the more representative circles of Polish society was unable to check the development of emigration among the more passive part of the nation in which the national interests were relatively weak; nor could it counteract the influence of exceptionally hard economic conditions. The realization of this led to the acceptation of emigration as a "necessary evil" and the efforts of the upper classes were directed merely to limiting its undesirable effects by favoring temporary instead of permanent emigration and by trying to keep at home the most valuable part of Polish society. In fact, the recognized undesirability of emigration from the national standpoint exercised a powerful restraining influence upon all those elements of the nation which actively and consciously cooperated in preserving and developing Polish unity and culture, irrespective of their social class.

This fact is very significant for our present study, for it shows that only a very small minority of the Polish immigrants who come to this country have had any training in rational social cooperation and that for most of them the Polish national ideal has little meaning. Not only have—as we stated in the introduction—the educated middle and upper classes of Polish society furnished an exceedingly small proportion of immigrants (most of whom, moreover, are below the normal moral or intellectual level of their respective groups in Poland), but even among the large mass of immigrants coming from the peasant or lower city class the most educated, most socialized and most productive elements of these classes are very insufficiently represented. In the light of these data the rapid development of Polish-American society acquires an additional interest.

From the general condemnation of emigration on patriotic grounds were excluded, of course, all those cases in which emigration was the consequence or the means of patriotic activities. Many thousands of revolutionists were forced to leave the country to escape death or prison, particularly after 1830 and 1863, and had to seek refuge abroad from the persecution of the hostile governments. But most of them settled in France, some in England, Switzerland and Italy, where they could most effectively work by all the means at their disposal for new revolutions or for a diplomatic intervention of the Western Powers in favor of Poland. Only a few individuals reached America, usually after many years of wandering. The *emigrés* of 1831 became soon assimilated here and left no trace except a few documents referring to an association which they founded—the first Polish association in this country. The second emigration had a much deeper influence upon Polish-American life, for there were already small Polish colonies of workmen scattered over this country and to these the political exiles of 1864 by indirect communication from Europe and by personal contact imparted the impulse which led to the present development of Polish-American society.

In more recent times the revolutionary movement was carried on secretly in Poland, by "underground" methods of organization and propaganda, until it broke out in 1905 in connection with the first Russian revolution. Some of the revolutionists who succeeded in escaping from the Russian repression before and after 1905 came to this country and in some measure revived among the American Poles the interest in the armed struggle for Poland's independence; the majority of them belonged to the Polish Socialist Party, a half na-

tional, half socialistic organization, and these organized and developed the groups of Polish socialists in America.

In addition to this nationally permissible emigration there is another type which has appeared only since the Polish colonies in America have grown large enough to attract the attention of Polish society in Europe. It was generally known that these colonies lacked intellectual leadership and it was supposed that without such leadership they would be soon absorbed in their American environment. And since Polish society could not resign itself to losing permanently these "detached members"—particularly as emigration to America was growing to astonishing proportions—the opposition to the emigration of intellectuals began to weaken, and if intellectuals left with the definite intention of settling exclusively among American Poles and helping them preserve their nationality, they were not discouraged and sometimes even encouraged. However, so imperious were the demands which the difficult national situation at home put upon all available men and resources that we know of only a few cases of teachers, journalists or political organizers who actually came to this country to stay for national purposes. Only the clergy, with its tradition of missionary work and its relatively secure status, developed a regular immigration of "missionaries," whose aim was as much, if not more, religious than national preservation.

While thus with a few exceptions active participation in Polish national life was the most efficient obstacle to the emigration of the higher classes and of the most productive and developed part of the lower classes, on the other hand the isolation of many peasant communities from cultural influences, their lack of contact

with intellectual and economic centers, which allowed the old system to remain in full power until quite recent times, had a similar restraining effect on the emigration of the most conservative and ignorant part of the peasant class. The primary community which controlled its members by enforcing passive obedience to traditional rules reached unreflectively results parallel to those which the highly organized national body reflectively attained by imposing upon its members the moral obligation of actively pursuing the national ideal. Although as we have mentioned before (in Vol. I) and as we shall see in detail presently, economic motives almost exclusively predominate in the emigration of peasants, statistics show that economic conditions which in communities with many outside contacts have proved most favorable for emigration fail entirely to provoke it in those parts of the country where the peasant class is most isolated and conservative. This can be explained only by the coherence of the primary group and the preservation of the traditional system, not by the mere lack of information, for in these same territories the inhabitants of towns, where the primary group organization is weaker than in villages, do emigrate almost as much as elsewhere. There was only one important and very instructive case of intense emigration among the most backward communities—it was a mass movement of colonists to Paranà, Brazil, in the years 1910-1913. We shall return to this later.

The great majority of emigrants is thus recruited from those peasant and small town communities in which the contacts with the outside world are relatively numerous and the process of disorganization of the old social structure has been already going on for some time, whereas the work of social reconstruction by which

the peasants are made active members of the nation-wide system has either only begun or has embraced only the most advanced members, who then normally abstain from emigrating. This means that, generally speaking, the Polish immigrants whom America receives belong mostly to that type of individuals who are no longer adequately controlled by tradition and have not yet been taught how to organize their lives independently of tradition. This kind of material may easily go to pieces if rational social control and encouragement are lacking, but it may also easily be shaped by proper methods into useful elements of some new social construction. It is less reliable but more adaptable than the more advanced or more conservative part of the lower classes of Polish society.

We must now, however, take into account another aspect of the problem. We have spoken of the act of emigrating only as an individual performance and treated it from the standpoint of the relation between the individual and the group which he leaves. And as long as no other factors intervene, emigration must be, indeed, interpreted as a sign that the group which loses members in this way lacks a coherent organization and the power of social control. This is always the situation when those who emigrate, whether few or many, go each on his own responsibility to a destination which in the eyes of the group is more or less indefinite, outside of the reach of the opinion of the others. But the situation changes when for any reason emigration becomes a mass phenomenon, a simultaneous or successive, permanent or temporary *migration* of a large part of the community for a more or less common, definite and known destination. There is still, of course, a certain break of the traditional system, a certain partial

suspension of the social organization which may lead to a permanent decay of a few traditional rules and probably some opposition between that part of the community which favors and that which opposes the migration, but sooner or later social consciousness adjusts itself to the situation and begins to consider the phenomenon as normal, not as a revolt against society. In this case the individual who emigrates may differ from the one who remains not by his non-conformity to social rules but by a prevalence of the desire for new experience over the desire for security, or perhaps merely by a stronger tendency to economic advance.

A typical case of such migration was that exodus to Paranà which we mentioned above and which we had the opportunity of observing quite closely. The Brazilian government offered free transportation from European ports and cheap homesteads on easy terms to families of colonists, and the agitation of steamship agents, after having failed to influence the western Polish territories where either emigration to America or season emigration to Germany was developed, reached finally the more remote, eastern and southeastern parts of the Congress Kingdom, which had never yet had any emigration. This coincided with two other influences which were working in the same direction. The first was the agitation of certain Polish leaders from Paranà who wanted to strengthen the Polish element there.[1] Their enterprise was favored by some Polish radicals who believed in the possibility of making Paranà a Polish state and at the same time hoped to direct there some of the excess country proletariat, and thus indirectly to

[1] Over 30 years ago there was a similar rush to Brazil from the central Polish provinces where American and German emigration were then unknown. Most of the emigrants settled in Paranà and organized there a rather prosperous colony numbering in 1910 about 80,000.

improve the condition of manor servants, which was particularly poor in the eastern part of the country. The second factor was the recent decision of the Russian government to separate certain southeastern districts where Poles were mixed with Ruthenians from the administration of the Congress Kingdom, so as to make Russification possible. The Polish peasants of these districts remembered the long national and religious persecution to which they had been subjected in connection with the Uniat problem and which ended only in 1905. Paranà appeared as salvation from a similar evil. Everything concurred thus to make emigration appear to the people as a mere passage from a community where they were dependent on their employers, had no land and were probably about to undergo a persecution for their faith, to a more or less similar community already inhabited by their brethren, where they would no longer be hired laborers, would have plenty of land and would be free to preserve their religion. There was no idea of any break with the traditional system; it was not like the case of an individual leaving his group to go into an unknown, undetermined outside world. Not individuals, but whole families were going. More than this, we never met a family leaving alone. They always associated in groups, sometimes as many as fifty families, sometimes entire communities. And their destination in their own minds was perfectly determined and clear; they had, or thought they had, direct or indirect communications with Paranà. They expected that a very popular priest who favored the movement was awaiting them on the other side. And if a few more critical ones had some doubts about the conditions there and tried to obtain more detailed information, the great majority imagined everything to be as in

Poland, only better. They carried with them all the agricultural and domestic implements they were allowed to take; many were surprised and grieved that they could not transport their cows and horses. Thus it was regular group migration, which stopped as suddenly as it had developed when discouraging news from those who went first became popularized throughout the country.

This Paranà case helps us understand certain characters which other types of emigration often assume and which we have not yet discussed. Emigration to the United States and season emigration to Germany, after having reached considerable proportions and continued for a long time in certain communities, become in some measure social movements, periodical or continuous migrations, more or less socially determined as to their destination and form and thus, though always considered undesirable by the nation, come to be treated as normal by those primary communities which are not strongly influenced by general national considerations. In season emigration this change of social attitude follows a half planful, half spontaneous regulation of the process. Individuals are not supposed to go alone, they leave in numerous groups with experienced leaders who are not only to take care of business matters as intermediaries between the workmen and their employers but also to supervise the order and morals of the small wandering community. In this they are helped by some of the older members of the group. Each group of workers usually goes year after year to the same locality and to the same employer, making their contracts in the fall for the following spring. Their community knows where they are going and what they are doing. It agrees

more or less willingly to their periodical migration and exercises over them still a minimum of control.

In the case of transoceanic emigration a similar change occurs in a somewhat different way. When many members of a community are settled in America and keep contact with their home, America appears almost as an extension of the community; it is as if a part of the latter had simply migrated to another locality. The fact that in this country they are scattered over many places and no longer constitute a closed group does not seem to play a very important part in the consciousness of the people at home, particularly since there is a tendency of immigrants from the same community to congregate as far as the conditions permit. From descriptions and relations of returning emigrants America—at least America as the immigrant sees it—becomes familiar to the community in Poland. Some social control can be still exercised overseas through relatives, friends and acquaintances. When a member prepares to leave, though he may travel alone, he goes at the invitation of another member and goes to him; from the standpoint of his group, it is not so very different from going to a Polish city to visit a friend and earn there some money. Indeed, the community insists to the end that emigration be only temporary; it never reconciles itself to the idea that the emigrant may never return, may ever cease to be a real member of his original group. America may be a permanent extension of the community as a whole, but for each member separately it should be only a visiting place. And in fact, while among city people many start to America with the intention of staying there are few peasants who do not intend to return. Temporary absence changes into permanent absence slowly by a gradual adaptation to the

new environment, but there is always a latent feeling of obligation to return.

Of course, social regulation of emigration is undertaken only after a longer or shorter period of individual, non-regulated emigration and a community which has had some emigration is no longer as coherent as it was before emigration began; still, it often happens that by accepting and supervising a phenomenon which it cannot prevent it regains some of the control over its members which it had lost. Emigration becomes then a way by which individuals can find an outlet for their non-conformist attitudes without explicitly breaking social solidarity and becoming *revoltés;* at the same time, it is open to the more reliable members of the community, whose participation makes it, so to speak, more respectable and prevents it from being considered a starting-point of further disorganization.

While therefore we maintain our former standpoint that emigrants in general are recruited from the less stable and less organized elements of Polish society, we must nevertheless supplement this statement by making a distinction between those who come from communities with an old emigration—Posen, Western Galicia, the northwestern corner of the Congress Kingdom—and those from other Polish provinces where emigration has not yet become a social institution. This difference manifests itself in this country in the predominant rôle which Poles from Western Poland play in Polish-American social institutions and which cannot be exclusively accounted for by the fact that, as older settlers, they are better adapted to local conditions. On the other hand, it is the Congress Kingdom which has furnished most of those not very numerous intelligent, political emigrants who have given to Polish-American

organizations whatever deeper meaning and general purposes they have.

We pass now from the social significance of emigration to its function in individual life. From the former standpoint the distinction between the two main types of emigration found in Poland—that to Germany and that to America—was relatively accidental. It is quite essential from the latter standpoint for, though both types of emigration serve chiefly economic purposes, their functions are entirely different. This might be deduced from the very difference in the conditions of these two emigrations. Season emigration requires little money, for the cost of the journey from the boundary line is paid by the employer. The journey is relatively short and is made in company with many others in somewhat familiar circumstances. The work is done in the open and is very similar to what the emigrant always did at home. Finally, return at the end of the season is assured; whatever break there is with the old life is only temporary and felt as such. Whereas going to America costs a sum of money which for a small peasant farmer, manor-servant or handworker is often a capital which, if invested, might bring a really valuable change in his economic situation at home; and even if the passage money is advanced by a relative from America, it will have to be paid back. The long travel in unfamiliar conditions, particularly crossing the ocean, makes the individual ascribe a great importance to his step, even if intercourse between his community and America has been so frequent that he cannot have the attitude of a pioneer. The work which he does in this country is entirely different from what he has been accustomed to. Even more important is the change from a country to a city environment. And

the break with home conditions is not only very deep but very long; even the emigrant who has firmly decided to return counts on at least two or three years here.

For all these reasons it is obvious that the values which the emigrant wants to obtain in this country are much more important than those which he expects from season work in Germany. In a general way and subject to some later qualifications we may say that by going to season work the emigrant (or his family) hopes to satisfy some particular needs which have arisen in his ordinary course of life, whereas by crossing the ocean he expects to change radically his ordinary course of life. Thus a peasant farmer may go to Germany or send his children in order to pay his debts, to give a dowry to his marriageable daughter or son, to build a new house or barn, to buy some stock; a peasant boy or girl may even want only to buy new clothes or to enjoy some pleasure which cannot be enjoyed at home. A peasant who has only a house and a few rods of land, not enough to get a living from it, or a *komornik* who owns no property at all, considers emigration as a substitute for hired work at home, with a somewhat better living and the possibility of laying a small sum aside for the "black hour" of sickness or old age. On the contrary, the emigrant who goes to America means to return a different man, to obtain—by earning much and spending little—the economic foundation on which to build a new and superior career. If he is a landless peasant, *i. e.*, manor-servant or *komornik,* or will be landless because his parents have not enough land to give some to each child, he wants to save for a farm. If his farm is too small to live on without hiring himself as a laborer, he intends to buy a larger one so as to be completely his own master.

If he is a hard-working journeyman, he dreams about establishing a prosperous business of his own. A girl who has too small a dowry to marry any one but perhaps a hired workman, hopes to become a match for a rich farmer or to marry an "American." (Girls afford the most numerous exceptions to the rule that every emigrant when starting intends to return.) This conscious or half conscious expectation of a radical change in life to be reached by transoceanic emigration facilitates for many immigrants in this country the process by which they are gradually led to accept, first implicitly, then explicitly their new status as definite instead of merely provisional, in spite of the fact that the status of workmen living on their wages is from the traditional standpoint lower than that of independent farmers or masters of handicraft. Increased earning power, which was formerly only a means for acquiring property, becomes an independent object and the basis of a new social valuation. As this modern workman's psychology develops, the standard of living grows higher and sometimes even "conspicuous waste" takes the place of the seemingly sordid economy, which has lost its main justification. The desire for property still subsists but is no longer predominant, for property in these new conditions becomes almost a purely economic category and loses most of its old social meaning, ceases to be the absolute dividing line between the dependent and the independent.[1]

The greater break with the group which emigration to America involves and the greater seriousness of purpose which distinguishes the "American" from the "German" emigrant must both be taken into account

[1] *Cf.* Vol. I, *Economic Attitudes;* also notes to letters of Maks Markiewicz in the same volume.

when discussing the relative reliability of the human material which Poland sends to this country. The class of people who come here have perhaps on the average drifted further away from tradition than those who go to season work; indeed, emigration to Germany is often the first step preparing the individual psychologically and economically for the idea of transoceanic emigration. On the other hand, the "American" emigrant is probably on the average more apt to profit permanently from his new opportunities and more fit for social reconstruction.

There is, however, one reservation to be made. Though the functions of American emigration and season emigration are different, in localities where one of them has become exclusively prevalent as mass phenomenon it is apt to assume the function of the other. Thus in many communities along the southern half of the western border of the Congress Kingdom there is very little emigration to America because season migration, having started early, is almost a social institution, fulfilling more or less the needs which elsewhere drive the peasant to America. The success with which it serves the purposes of individual advance to a higher stage of economy depends in a large measure on social opinion; in some localities the community enforces the principle of productive use of the earnings of emigrants, and there an astonishing general advance has been made during the last generation, whereas in other, sometimes neighboring communities most of the money is spent on drink and clothes, and the economic and cultural level remains low. On the other hand, in the north of Poland there are communities in which going to Germany is considered undignified as compared with emigration to

America, and the latter is often undertaken for trifling reasons.

We must take into account also the connection between emigration and the general economic condition of the country. Of course, we find between these phenomena no direct causal relation of the kind which the traditional economic method assumed whenever statistics showed parallel numerical variations of two groups of facts. The economic conditions are always only a part of the concrete social situation; they influence human behavior just as any other values by acting upon certain pre-existing attitudes and producing together an effect which depends upon both and which combines with similarly produced effects of many other influences. Thus, whether a low economic status which the individual has in his own country as compared with the status which he may reach in another country will induce him to emigrate or not depends first of all on his predisposition. If his prevalent attitude is the desire for economic advance, he will go unless interfered with by other influences; if it is the fear of the unknown, he will not go unless other influences combine with the economic influence. And no desire for economic advance will make him emigrate if his group condemns emigration and he is a conformist, whereas if he has revolted against the group in general, he may leave it even if it is against his economic interests. And so on.

The only case in which we might neglect the varying socio-psychological predispositions upon which economic influences are dependent and claim that certain economic conditions act as if they were the direct cause of emigration would be found if there were an alternative between emigration and starvation, since it can be safely assumed that the desire to live constitutes the most per-

manent psychological predisposition of all human beings and if put before such an alternative every individual would rather emigrate than starve. But such was not the case in Poland during the period which we are investigating. Although the country proletariat during the 40 years before the war had increased in number so fast that the growing Polish industry could employ only about 30 per cent. of the surplus population, the development of agricultural production during these years was sufficiently intense to provide for the remainder. The fact is that emigration—which in 1913 reached its highest record of about 140,000 "American" and 600,000 season emigrants and which since it began has cost the country more than a million people—produced a scarcity of labor of which most estate-owners complained. There was even some talk of importing foreign labor from the East. It is true that as a consequence of the general economic status of Poland the standard of wages was lower than in Western Europe, much lower than in the United States, and in the case of agricultural laborers often barely above the starvation limit; but aside from industrial crises there was no lack of work which would compel the workman to emigrate from fear of starving. Emigration was thus not the *necessary* result of economic conditions. The latter merely gave a justification to the individual for choosing emigration as the most accessible or the only accessible way of satisfying new needs, of improving his situation or, less frequently, of keeping himself or his family on their customary economic level, which certain new factors threatened to lower.

Having thus restricted the conception of the causal influence of economic factors, we can better interpret such relations between economic conditions and emigra-

tion as we have found by statistical methods. We shall not quote the statistics in detail here but only a few general conclusions which we have reached.

1) There is a marked connection between the high proportion of very small farms (which compel the peasant to supplement his income by hired labor) and low wages for day labor on the one hand and intense season emigration on the other hand.

2) A similar connection can be found between low wages for agricultural workers hired by the year and intense emigration to America.

3) In highly industrial districts there is very little or no emigration of either kind.

The first two points corroborate the conclusion which we have reached by observation that season emigration to Germany is mostly resorted to by those who want additional income to satisfy new needs without wishing to change their ordinary course of life—and most of the small farmers belong to this class—whereas mainly those who are dissatisfied with the general prospect of life in the old country emigrate to America, *i. e.,* those peasants who have no farms and not enough money to buy any and whose usual prospect in life is that of becoming agricultural workers hired by the year at very low wages.

As to the third point it seems to show at first glance that even if bad economic conditions are not sufficient by themselves to produce emigration, fair economic conditions—or at least conditions which those concerned think fair—are sufficient to prevent emigration. This conclusion, however, would be too sweeping. We do not need to mention political and religious emigration. Even in so-called economic emigration which almost exclusively predominates in the Polish lower classes we

find many examples showing that even quite favorable economic conditions do not prevent individuals from emigrating when emgiration has become a group phenomenon; thus during the "Paranà fever" many farmers sold their farms and joined the movement for they expected to get more land at a cheaper price in Brazil, and where season emigration has been institutionalized quite well-to-do peasants send their children to work in Germany. Economic conditions alone seem to be sufficient to restrain emigration only among industrial workers, who are more isolated from social influences than peasants in the country.[1] This is simply a particular case of the general law that the influence of purely economic motives grows with individualization.

Will emigration from Poland, interrupted during the war, reassume its former proportions when access to America and to Germany is reopened? It is, of course, impossible to make any prediction for the first few years, while the direct effects of war still persist, without having thoroughly investigated these effects. But we can say with a large degree of probability that after the conditions in Poland become settled emigration to America will be much below its old rate, whereas season emigration, unless artificially checked by the state, may for a long period be more intense than ever. The agrarian reform initiated by the Polish government will provide with land about half a million peasant families, which means from three to four million individuals. Thus the problem of the country proletariat will be settled until Polish industry develops sufficiently to absorb

[1] It is true that the development of industry checks or prevents emigration not only in industrial centers but also in the peasant communities surrounding these centers, but this is because periodical temporary or permanent migration to the industrial center becomes in such communities a mass phenomenon taking the place of emigration abroad.

any surplus of the country population. In addition to this economic change there has been and certainly will be a rapid growth of the national spirit among the peasants. Called to cooperate not only in the social but also in the political reconstruction of the nation, the large masses will probably develop a moral attitude toward emigration similar to that which has in the past been maintained by the middle and upper classes and by the more progressive and better organized minority of peasants and workmen. Thus gradually the main bulk of the transoceanic emigration will be reduced to the relatively worthless, disorganized or passive, elements of the Polish peasant class, who will fail to profit from the new opportunities offered by the agrarian reform and among whom the desire for the excitement of American city life will prevail over the more serious and socially more valuable interests involved in the social and political development of Polish country communities. But for many years there will be among those millions of newly created small land-owners a great demand for additional income in order to pay their debts, improve their farming, etc. While in some communities with an old American emigration the latter may still for some time be resorted to as a means of obtaining these additional funds, almost exclusively in the form of a temporary excursion for a definite sum of money, the chief method of solving this problem will be season work; and since there will be no large estates in Poland, work will be sought abroad. The fact that the Polish government will be able to protect the workers and regulate season emigration will contribute to make this latter less disorganizing than it was in the past.

DOCUMENTS

These documents are meant to illustrate only such types of "American" emigrants as are not sufficiently exemplified in the preceding volumes. The letters addressed to the Emigrants Protective Association in Warsaw, show examples of what we may call emigrant pioneers, those who do not passively follow the example and invitation of their friends and relatives overseas who have prepared the ground for them, but go on their own initiative and after reflection, not relying on private information alone but trying to obtain information from official sources and ready to take all the risks themselves.

1. I intend to go in a few days to a Jewish agent in Konstantynów to make an arrangement for crossing the frontier without a passport, for I am absolutely determined to go now to New York or Philadelphia to earn some hundreds of roubles there within 2 or 3 years and then to come back to our country and rent a mill or buy a piece of land with the money collected in this way.

Before going to the Jew I went to call on the priest in Butowce, who already knew from my wife's relatives that I had resolved to go to America. Well, at first he advised me not to leave my country; he showed me the dangers, the terrible work there which often costs one's life, and in general the reasons why it is not worth leaving here. But I was not persuaded. Then he advised me to write to you . . . and to wait for your answer. I obeyed and now I beg you to send me the necessary information. . . .

I am 26 years old, a Catholic, Polish and in perfect health. I was married about a year ago. I can read and write Polish and Russian. My specialty is gardening, but I know other handicrafts also—carpenter's, tailor's, shoemaker's and wheelwright's work.[1] I left my place as gardener a week ago. I was

[1] This versatility in occupations is very often found among the more intelligent peasants.

paid there 120 roubles a year, with board, lodging, light and fuel. . . . I have parents but do not live with them. I have neither land nor house of my own.

2. Praised by Jesus Christus. . . . I inform you that I intend to emigrate to America where I have many friends, for the most part relatives, who write that I can come to them and they will find work for me. . . . I know only one handicraft, carpenter's. I practiced with a country carpenter, but at the present time it is very difficult to find material, and therefore difficult to earn.

We have little land, and I have a sister and two brothers. I am 18 years old; so if I can go to America and get work, as I have the intention of doing, before the call to the army I could earn still more money. . . . I know how to read and I read many books and papers, *Głos Ludu, Lud Boży* and others [popular religious papers]. I also know something about writing, as you can see from this letter. I have been to some monthly agricultural courses in Lublin, where I learned a little about the science of agriculture and model farming. . . . I hope if I live to try with all my strength to organize a model farm but now, because of lack of money and because my father has still a debt, it is difficult to make practical improvements in any way or to buy agricultural machines, which are very dear.

3. [The improvement in condition which is here sought in South America is of the type which is generally sought by emigrants going to the United States.]

I have thought about emigration for two years already and would like some information about Paranà. Some of my friends are in Paranà now. Only one is on land [a farmer] and he writes that he is getting along very well. And besides him there are 17; these are lumbermen, carpenters and day laborers. They write that they are earning good wages; for instance [quotes some examples of wages]. And besides this, my cousin went to Paranà in 1910. He was there one year and four months and earned during this time almost 2,000 roubles. He brought home 1,500 roubles, lent it to people and went back to Paranà. Some boys went with him, leaving in September. He told me much about this Paranà and I made up my mind that since I cannot

earn my living here, I will go. [Asks information about journey.]

Three of us have decided to go. We will leave our wives and children at home and perhaps we shall be able to earn some money and come back to our country. Many people among us go to America and to various countries; but they come back and everybody brings some money with him. Here it is very difficult to advance. I want to live, though poorly, yet decently, and to give my children some education at least, for I cannot dream of leaving them a fortune. And here in Ostrowo there is no school but a Russian elementary one. One worries about all this; and therefore I have resolved to go to Paranà, because my cousin, although he works hard, at least gets something out of his work.

4. Respected Gentlemen, Benefactors of Mankind! Having learned that in Warsaw there exists a society to assist those who emigrate abroad, and because I who write intend to emigrate from my country, I address myself to you, respected gentlemen, with the prayer and the confidence of a child [and ask] that you answer this question for me: "Where is now the best place for me, poor self-taught peasant (because everything I know, I learned from Reussner's Method, *i. e.* to write Polish and Russian, a little German, and now I am learning English). Where can I employ best my good strength and health?"

I am now 28 years old, a bachelor. I have done my military service in the Russo-Japanese campaign. . . . I was set free with the grade of regimental clerk. Since I returned from the army, *i. e.*, 1908, I have worked as farm-clerk. But I have had no school instruction, no means, no favorable circumstances and no time for self-education. And moreover, I am of peasant extraction. All this together is the chief impediment in the way of my development and happiness. There is no place for me, poor man, in the government service—and I don't want it. I know no handicraft, for I learned none. Until my 21st year, *i. e.*, till my military service, I was with my parents in the country in the Kingdom [of Poland] where they own a piece of land. I helped them in their work and during the time I could spare I studied, for I had an unconquerable desire to read and write.

And thus, respected gentlemen. in the past as in the present

some interior, insuperable force pushed me *forward* and ordered me to work and live economically—now also I live economically, drink very little and don't smoke at all—and to come back to my country only to set up an independent business for, as I have ascertained, ***only self-reliant, independent work brings good fruits.***

I will await impatiently your answer, respected gentlemen, in which I beg you to indicate: 1) The land; 2) the nationality; 3) the language; 4) the kind of work; 5) the most suitable time for the journey; 6) the cost of the journey; 7) the indispensable clothes for the journey; 8) data about the documents for crossing [the frontier].

5. I have a very great wish to go to America. I want to leave my native country because we are 6 children and we have very little land, only about 6 morgs and some small farm-buildings, so that our whole farm is worth 1200 roubles at the highest. And my parents are still young; father is 48 and mother 42 years old. So it is difficult for us to live. Father got me married and gave me a dowry of 200 roubles, and I received 200 roubles with my wife. So father has given me my share and now I am alone with my wife. I have no children yet. Here in our country one must work plenty and wages are very small, just enough to live, so I would like to go in the name of our Lord God; perhaps I would earn more there. I will leave my wife with her father, *i. e.,* my father-in-law. I have 200 roubles for the journey. I am a healthy boy 24 years old. I do not fear any work. [Asks advice.]

6. I have served as farm-steward 4 years in a single place. Formerly I served as farm-clerk in other places. I am a bachelor 32 years old. I am very economical and I have put aside nearly 150 roubles, which ought to suffice for my journey. I shall be obliged to leave my parents, who are already old, without any means to live. My father served for more than 30 years in a single place and during this time was never noticed for bad behavior. Even now he is sometimes employed, if his health allows him to make a levy on a debtor, or as overseer of workmen. Nevertheless, he lives in a poor cabin rented from a peasant and if his children did not sustain him he would probably

die from cold and hunger. . . . The life of a manor-official has become very difficult at the present time.

I am not afraid of any physical work. I understand builder's and carpenter's work perfectly. . . . It is true that agriculture is the most pleasant occupation to one who has grown up in it, but considering the slavery which binds one when serving and the solitude within four walls, as in a prison, which I have here, it is impossible to hold out any longer. And about marriage one does not even dare to think!

7. I am a blacksmith, a specialist in agricultural machine work, and even a good one, in the opinion of my superiors. I should like to sell my strength in a profitable way, which is impossible among us. In England even a farm-laborer earns 500 roubles a year, whereas here a capable factory-worker can barely vegetate. If he earns 350 roubles a year it is considered good.

8. I want to go to America, but I have no means at all because I am poor and have nothing but the ten fingers of my hands, a wife and 9 children. I have no work at all, although I am strong and healthy and only 45 years old. I cannot earn for my family. I have been already in Dombrowa, Sosnowiec, Zawiercie and Łódź, wherever I could go, and nowhere could I earn well. And here they [the children] call for food and clothing and more or less education. I wish to work, not easily only but even hard, but what can I do? I will not go to steal and I have no work.

So I beg the Protective Association to accept me for this journey and not only me, but I should like to take with me two of my children, a boy 16 and a girl 18 years old. And I beg the Association. There are still other people who would readily go to America. They are also poor.

9. I live in the district of Żytomierz. I have no land of my own. I am not a craftsman and it is very difficult for me to live here. I rent some *desiatinas* [a *desiatina* is about 2 acres] of land from an estate-owner. I have to pay 15 roubles rent for each desiatina. . . . And now I cannot pay the rent to the proprietor; therefore I must soon leave this place. But where can I find a piece of bread with a wife and two children? Because of this difficulty, having no work, I address myself to the

respected directors with the request that they advise and protect me in my journey to America. . . . I do not intend to go with my whole family because I have too little money. I am merely looking for work for some time.

10. I am a boy 16 years old, tall and of fair strength. I am the son of poor parents, *i. e.,* of a manorial village smith. My father is a smith but I have no wish to be such a smith. I would rather economize a few hundred roubles, buy a little land, and later after some years get married, and be a farmer. So I beg you for good advice as to whether it is worth going to this Argentine [which was described in the *Kuryer Warszawski*]. Perhaps it is too hot there for a Polish Mazur [inhabitant of ancient Polish province]. And if they pay so much for work there, the work must be very hard and it will be difficult for me to hold out. . . . If I can get a yearly job at the end of harvest it will be very well. If not, I will go from there to North America where I have many friends. So please advise me whether to go first to Argentine or at once to North America. . . . If your advice helps me to carry out my intentions successfully I promise, if the Lord God grants me health . . . to send you from America or Argentina 30 roubles for this service.

11. I have heard that in Paranà it is possible to buy land at a low price. But what of it since I have no money at all? At the same time I heard that in North America there is suitable work. So I intend to go to North America, work there for 2 or 3 years, and only then marry, go to Paranà and buy a piece of land. [Farm-worker 31 years old.]

12. [Example of inhibitory influence of religion upon emigration.]

Respected Catholics and emigrant protectors, I beg you kindly to advise me how I could emigrate to America with my family, *i. e.,* my wife and 4 boys from 14 to 2 years of age. One boy, 16 years old, went to Argentine May 4th. I intend to go also and buy there some land, for here in Wołyń it is very dear—a *desiatina* costs as much as 500 roubles. What can I buy, when I have 5 boys and only 2,000 roubles? I could perhaps buy in Russia, but what is the use of it since there are no [Catholic] churches and my faith would get lost. Meanwhile I have heard that in America there are churches enough and our faith will

not get lost. So please, respected society, advise and explain to me where most of our brothers are, what kind of soil there is, what customs, what climate, the price of one *desiatina* and whether it is worth the trouble, so that I may not lead my wife and my children to destruction and lose my fortune, for which I am responsible and must give an account to our Lord God.

CHAPTER II

THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The tide of Polish immigration grew continually until 1914. The number of returns to Poland was also, indeed, increasing, but these on the average did not exceed 30 per cent. of the arrivals. The population of the old Polish colonies (in Pittsburg, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, etc.) rivalled that of Polish cities in Europe, Chicago with its 360,000 Poles ranking after Warsaw and Łódź as the third largest Polish center in the world. Outside of these, numerous new colonies have developed, for the most part founded by immigrants sufficiently familiar with American conditions to search for work away from the traditional centers, but recruited later chiefly from Europe. Since the beginning of the present century hundreds of new colonies were founded in the East, which originally had only a few old and small Polish settlements. Some of them have developed rapidly. Thus, according to Polish sources, one-third of the population of New Britain, Conn., is Polish and the Polish parish in that city is among the most flourishing and best organized. In the far West the development has been slower, in the South quite insignificant.[1]

[1] There are no reliable official statistics of the Polish population in this country. According to the data privately collected by Mr. Stanisław Osada of Chicago for a work which he is preparing under the title "Polonia Americana," there are about 1,200 Polish parishes with a membership of nearly 2,000,000. The number of Poles not directly connected with parishes may be estimated roughly at about 1,000,000.

The process by which Polish colonies appear and grow can thus be observed in detail during the last 20 or 30 years. It seems to present a uniformity of outline which permits us to construct a general sociological scheme of the development of a Polish-American community applicable with some variations to all such communities except agricultural colonies, which we have not had the opportunity to study, and a few of the oldest and largest groups which originated under different conditions and are now organized around several centers, thus presenting a greater complexity of life than the smaller settlements, each with one main social center.[1]

When a Polish immigrant finds work which pays well and promises to be permanent in a locality where there is no Polish settlement yet, he usually tries at once to attract his friends and relatives from other Polish-American communities. His motives are evident. He has been accustomed to such social response and recognition as only a primary group with old social bonds and uniform attitudes can give, and however well he may be adapted to American economic and political conditions he seldom is at once accepted as a member by an American primary-group (or by a primary-group of some other immigrant people). Even if he were he would miss the directness and warmth of social relations to which he has been accustomed in his own group. Sometimes, indeed, he does not succeed in attracting

[1] The following typical scheme of development of Polish-American colonies was outlined to us in its main features in private conversation by the Rev. Priest Syski of Boston, who has observed Polish American life very closely and intelligently for many years. We are also using materials collected by ourselves. Our explanation of the social process here described is based in a large measure on the results of our preceding volumes.

any one. Then if he does not leave the place driven by loneliness, he becomes gradually absorbed in the American milieu. Usually, however, a small group of Polish workmen is soon formed; and their first attempt, partly for economic, partly for social reasons, is to have a Polish boarding-house. Often some one of them who has some money and a wife in America assumes the initiative, brings his wife as soon as his situation seems settled, rents a large apartment and takes the others as roomers or boarders. It may happen that a bachelor marries some Polish girl he knows, with the understanding that they are going to keep a boarding place. Sometimes under such conditions a wife or a fiancée is even brought from Europe. Frequently, however, the initiative comes not from an individual but from the group; all the workmen put some money into renting and furnishing the apartment and induce one of their number who has a wife or fiancée to bring her. In this case they buy their own food and the woman only cooks it and cleans the house, receiving for these services a small sum from each ($1 to $2 a week) and by tacit understanding feeding herself and her children on her boarders' superfluous food.

If the locality has a permanent industry the small Polish colony continues to grow, partly by invited, partly by independent arrivals. Almost every individual or small family once settled attracts new members from the outside, however large the colony may already be, provided the economic conditions are favorable. The reason why, even when there is a Polish group formed, its members still invite their friends and relatives to come is once more to be found in the desire for response and the desire for recognition. As long as the Polish immigrant is isolated among Americans or immigrants

of different nationalities he welcomes the arrival of any Pole. But even among people of the same nationality and the same class the desires for response and recognition are not satisfied as fully as among relatives or friends. Relatives are on the average more satisfactory than strangers, those who come from the same community in Poland or from the same town in America are next best and tend to keep together more closely than those born or reared in different parts of the country; friends with a long past of common interests are more united than recent acquaintances. Each individual desires the fullest response and the widest recognition possible. He may accept provisionally whatever he finds but very soon begins to desire more. On the one hand he is ready to lavish his social feelings on any one within his reach, if he has only a few possible objects; but, on the other hand, when his social milieu widens and he can select the objects of his social feelings more consciously, he becomes more reserved and discriminating. Thus when a mere acquaintance comes into a colony formed of close friends and relatives, or when a group of immigrants coming from the same community is joined by an individual born in a different part of the country, the newcomer feels like an outsider. He naturally tends to call in his own relatives and his own friends, or people from his neighborhood. It often happens that a Polish colony is divided into several distinct groups which, though more closely connected with one another than with their American milieu, still look at one another with some mistrust and even a slight hostility. As we shall see later this division is soon overcome by cooperation for common purposes and does not exist in the older colonies, except that immigrants who have recently come from the same communities al-

ways associate with each other more willingly than with those who lack the same early neighborhood connections and sometimes a colony—or a parish in a large colony like Chicago—is composed principally of immigrants from some one of the provinces of Poland, Posen, Silesia, Galicia, the Congress Kingdom of Lithuania. The fact that the emigration from these provinces started at different periods has probably something to do with this phenomenon.

Dissensions between immigrants are also indirectly a factor in the growth of new colonies, for when relatives, friends or acquaintances have quarrelled each party wishes to be independent and to bring more relatives, friends or acquaintances to satisfy the social needs formerly satisfied by the other and to furnish additional support against it. As long as the existence of the new colony is not quite assured, the colony is naturally recruited more from the unsettled part of the population of other Polish-American communities than from the new immigrants, since the former can more easily risk moving temporarily to a new place. There are many instances of new settlements springing up in connection with an increased demand for labor in a given locality and suddenly disappearing after a relatively short time, if the labor conditions grow worse, a factory goes bankrupt, or a mine or lumber field is exhausted, etc. But if a colony lasts for several years, after having attracted chiefly the shifting and unsettled Polish-American elements from other colonies it usually begins to depend more on European immigration, since there are always many members who maintain their connections with Poland. The influx of new immigrants thus often becomes for a time the most important factor in its growth. Later when the community is definitely settled mar-

riages and births—at first relatively insignificant—gradually acquire the predominant importance.

In this respect it must be remembered that from the standpoint of the traditional family system the family group should tend to be as numerous as possible and that this old conception perfectly harmonizes with the view of the Catholic Church according to which many children are to be considered a "blessing of God." Of course the family system loses much of its power through emigration, but it remains still strong enough, at least in the first generation, to prevent any rapid decay of this attitude, which is one of the oldest and most deeply rooted family attitudes. We may add that the immigrant seldom knows any means of preventing childbearing except abortion, which is considered shameful —probably because resorted to mostly by unmarried girls—and sexual abstinence, which the peasant considers hardly worth while merely in order to limit his family. Moreover the economic conditions here favor the growth of large families. For although the children cannot be utilized economically as early as they are on a peasant farm in Poland, still there is seldom any real difficulty in bringing them up, for the average wages of an immigrant are certainly sufficient to support a large family on the scale to which he has been accustomed in the old country, if not on a higher one. When the children grow up they are expected to preserve family solidarity at least to the extent of turning over to the family most of their earnings, so that whatever expenses the family incurs to support them until working age are treated as an investment of the family funds from which a return is expected. Furthermore, a large family is considered normal, for the social and economic status of the second generation will probably be above

that of the first here, whereas in the old country a too numerous family often means a division of the property into such small parts that the children are unable to maintain the economic and social level of their parents. And if we realize that the power of the parish is here, as we shall see presently, greater than in Poland and that the parish favors for obvious reasons a rapid growth of the population, it will not be surprising that social opinion maintains the old standard of "propagation" and the prestige of a family group grows with the number of its children. Of course in cases of individual disorganization all these factors may cease to work. Generally, however, they work well enough to make the Polish immigrants at least as prolific as the peasants in the old country. Propagation has been even emphasized recently as a patriotic duty to both Poland and the local colony.[1]

Along with the growth of the new colony goes progress in unity and cohesion. In the beginning the group of Polish immigrants is naturally more or less scattered territorially, particularly when the locality has several factories or mines, since every workman tends to live near his working place. There are no interests to keep it together, except the personal ties of relationship and friendship between particular members of marriage groups and the general feeling of racial solidarity. But individuals always appear in every group—usually those who have had some experience in other Polish-American colonies—with whom the feeling of racial solidarity and perhaps also the desire to play a public rôle become motives for starting a closer organization. A "society"

[1] We know an intelligent Pole, a relatively recent immigrant, who has been very successful in business and who openly says he desires to fulfil his national duty by returning to Poland with twelve children and a million dollars for each of them.

is established invariably whenever the colony reaches 100 to 300 members. We shall investigate in our next chapter the internal organization of these local societies and the part which they play as elements of the super-territorial Polish-American system. Here we are concerned only with their local rôle as factors in the unification of each particular territorial community.

The first purpose for which such a "society" is usually established is mutual help in emergencies (sickness, death, and, more seldom, lack of work). For however vague may be originally the bond of racial solidarity between the members of a new colony, it never fails to manifest itself at the death of a member. Usually a severe sickness or disabling accident also provokes sympathetic feelings and the desire to help. Just as in matters concerning the increase of the family, so in cases calling for communal solidarity there are in the conditions surrounding the new Polish-American colony factors that are able to counterbalance in some measure and for a certain time the disorganizing influences of the new milieu. The workman who has no productive property and is hired by the week is evidently more seriously affected by misfortune than the peasant farmer or even the manor-servant hired by the year. Yet during times of prosperity his increased earning power makes him more able to help others in case of need and more willing to do so, since money has less value for him than in the old country, particularly after he has once resigned himself to considering his earnings as a means to live rather than as a means to acquire property. Further, the group of workmen constituting a Polish-American colony is isolated and cut off from all wider social milieux, instead of constituting, like a group of working men in Poland, an integral part of a larger society

disposing of some wealth. Private charity from wealthy people, which in the country districts of Poland still remains a valuable source of help in emergencies, is thus necessarily very limited in this country. As to public charity, an appeal to a charitable institution is considered even in Poland a mark of social downfall; it is even more of a disgrace in the eyes of Polish immigrants here because of the feeling of group responsibility which is imposed, or thought to be imposed by the American milieu. The immigrant has been accustomed to see the wider social group hold every narrower social group within its limits responsible for the behavior of every member; the village praises or blames the family as a whole for the activities of an individual, the parish does the same with reference to the village group, the wider community with reference to the parish or village. The American population is supposed to do the same—and, of course, in some measure actually does the same—with reference to the foreign colony in its midst. Every Pole who accepts the help of American institutions is thus considered not only disgraced personally as a pauper, but as disgracing the whole Polish colony. If in spite of this social attitude many relatively self-respecting individuals do not hesitate to claim assistance from American institutions, it is because they misinterpret the meaning of this assistance and consider it as being *due* to them, taking the institution as part of the whole American social and political system on which they place the blame for the evil befalling them. And thus they expect all kinds of relief and benefits as a perfectly normal method of redressing their grievances. But such misinterpretations are found mainly in unfamiliar situations, and help given in ordinary sickness or after a natural death pre-

serves the traditional character of charity, from whatever source it comes. No individual who has preserved some self-respect will accept it from an American institution unless his traditional conceptions have been obliterated owing to the new conditions and to insufficient contact with the Polish-American group.

Originally, during the early stages in the evolution of a Polish-American community mutual help is exercised sporadically, from case to case, by means of collections made for the benefit of the individual or family in distress. Naturally, the more settled and well-to-do members of the community on whom most of the burden falls are eager to substitute for this unregulated voluntary assistance a regular system of mutual death and sickness insurance, and thus favor the establishment of an association which will diminish their risks. The very fact that such a regulation of mutual assistance is necessary shows, of course, that the old naïve and unreflective communal solidarity, where each individual had rightful claims on the help of every other individual in a degree dependent on the closeness of their social connection, has been radically modified. As a matter of fact, most of the individuals who under the old system would be the first to be called to assist a member—his nearest relatives and old neighbors—are not here; their function has to be assumed, at least in part, vicariously by relative strangers who in Poland would never be asked to interfere. In the eyes of these, the help which they have to give appears not as a natural duty to be unreflectively performed but as, we might say, an artificial duty, the result of abnormal conditions. And this attitude communicates itself gradually even to those who under the old system would always be obliged to help, as friends and close relatives.

The duty to help cannot be disclaimed entirely, for the member in distress is at least a fellow-countryman; but it is no longer connected with the very foundation of social life. Mutual insurance is a reflective solution of this difficulty. It is the best method of escaping the conflict between the rudiments of the old attitudes of communal solidarity, strengthened by the feeling of group responsibility, and the individualistic unwillingness to endorse claims for assistance which no longer seem rooted in the very nature of things. Since communal solidarity was a universal social institution among Polish peasants and the new individualistic attitude develops in all immigrant colonies, it is clear that the institution of mutual insurance, being the effect of this combined cause—pre-existing institution and new social attitude—must be found everywhere in Polish-American society. The individual's own tendency to have a fund assured for himself or his family in case of sickness or death is in the beginning only a secondary matter. It assumes, however, increasing importance as the institutions of mutual insurance in a given community grow in economic power and social opinion begins to appreciate this growth and to require that every individual be adequately insured, while, on the other hand, as we shall see later on, the individual's feeling of responsibility for other members of the colony decreases with the numerical and social progress of the latter. In the older and larger colonies the individual's desire to be insured plays, therefore, perhaps even a greater part in the development of mutual insurance associations than his desire to insure others.

But the "society" founded in a new colony is much more than a mutual insurance institution. Not only does it bring the scattered members of the colony peri-

odically together, thus actively encouraging social intercourse, but it becomes the social organ of the community, the source of all initiative and the instrument for the realization of all plans initiated. This is probably the most important of its functions. In a peasant village there is no need of such an organ, for the territorial concentration and the close social cohesion of the village make direct individual initiative and immediate spontaneous cooperation of the concrete group possible from case to case. For the old country community, the *okolica* which includes a number of villages, the ready institutions of the commune and, in certain matters, the parish are more than sufficient to effect such changes as the community is legally entitled and practically able to introduce into the traditional system. Thus the cooperative organization which in Poland corresponds to the Polish-American "society," though it may exercise a strong influence over the primary community in which it exists and works, seldom acts as the organ of this community in proposing or realizing plans concerning the community as a whole except, of course, in its own special line of interest—establishment of cooperative shops for public use, public artistic performances, etc. The Polish-American community on the contrary, is too loose socially and territorially to do without an organ and has no old, political or religious centers which could play this rôle, while it needs organized initiative much more than the old Polish community whose activities can run for a long time more or less smoothly in the established channels of the traditional system.

Thus in a new Polish-American colony it is the "society" which assumes the care of the hedonistic interests of the group by organizing balls, picnics, etc., of its intellectual interests by giving theatrical representa-

tions, inviting lecturers, subscribing to periodicals; of its religious interests by arranging religious services to which some priest from an older Polish colony is invited. It is a center of information for newcomers, visitors, travellers; it sends to the press news about any opportunities which the locality may offer to Poles. It acts as a representative of the colony in its relations with the central institutions of Polish-American society, and eventually also with American institutions which try to reach the Polish community for political or social purposes. Thus all the campaigns for funds for Poland and for American Liberty Loans were waged in small communities by these associations. Finally, the great work of the society, through which it assures the permanence of the social cohesion of the colony, gains extraordinary prestige and security, though at the same time resigning its exclusive leadership, is the foundation of a parish.

When studying this most important Polish-American institution we should again be careful not to ascribe too much significance to its external form and official purpose. Just as the "benefit society" is much more than a mutual insurance company, so the Polish-American parish is much more than a religious association for common worship under the leadership of a priest. The unique power of the parish in Polish-American life, much greater than in even the most conservative peasant communities in Poland, cannot be explained by the predominance of religious interests which, like all other traditional social attitudes, are weakened by emigration, though they seem to be the last to disappear completely. The parish is, indeed, simply the old primary community, reorganized and concentrated. In its concrete totality it is a substitute for both the narrower

but more coherent village-group and the wider but more diffuse and vaguely outlined *okolica*. In its institutional organization it performs the functions which in Poland are fulfilled by both the parish and the commune.[1] It does not control the life of its members as efficiently as did the old community for, first of all, it seldom covers a given territory entirely and is unable to compel every one living within this territory to belong to it; secondly, its stock of socially recognized rules and forms of behavior is much poorer; thirdly, the attitudes of its members evolve too rapidly in the new conditions; finally, it has no backing for its coercive measures in the wider society of which it is a part. But its activities are much broader and more complex than those of a parish or of a commune in the old country.

Its religious character is, of course, important in itself since there is a certain minimum of religious ceremonies—christenings, weddings, funerals—which are considered absolutely indispensable even by the least religious among the immigrants and which are sufficient to justify the existence of a church and a priest in the eyes of all of them. The majority consider the Sunday service—at least the mass—and even more the Easter confession as also essential. But all these purely religious needs could be satisfied almost as well and at less expense by joining the local Irish-American church with an occasional visit from a Polish priest for confession and a sermon. It would even seem to be the wiser course, since the Irish-American clergy, coming

[1] Mr. Bronislaw Kuławkowski, of New York, first attracted our attention to the social rather than religious character of the Polish-American parish. He identifies it sociologically with the old Slavic commune. We cannot, however, follow this analogy to the end, since in the preceding volumes we have studied only the modern social organization of the peasants.

from a better social class, better controlled by its bishops and by American society and having to compete with the Protestant churches, are on a much higher intellectual and moral level than the Polish-American clergy, recruited from an uneducated milieu and exercising their power without any competition and practically uncontrolled except by the Polish-American society which not only does not have very high standards but is bound by its own interests to support them even while criticizing them.[1] If the Poles with few exceptions refuse to join Irish-American parishes it is because what the Polish colony really wishes in establishing a parish is not merely religious services but a community center of its own.

Of course a church is for many reasons best fitted for this purpose. The religious activities, even when religious interests are weakened, still constitute a very good foundation for community organization, first because every member, man, woman or child, can share in them, secondly because among the Polish peasants, where the mystical current is very low and heterodoxy therefore very rare, religion is less apt to give birth to struggle and competition than political or economic activities. The church organization is familiar to every member of the community, it has firmly established forms and well-trained professional leaders, and it introduces at once a contact between the activities of the community and a world-wide system of activities—all advantages which in any other field of social cooperation could be gained only after long efforts. The church building with its annexes is a traditional object of the

[1] The American Catholic Church does not dare to interfere too much with the education and morals of Polish priests lest the latter emancipate themselves from the control of Rome altogether and join the Independent Polish Church.

æsthetic interest of the community and can easily become a *locus* for all important common activities, to which its more or less marked sacred character imparts a kind of superior sanction and official meaning.

But it is clear that the Irish-American church, though on the religious side its organization is similar, can never become for the Polish community anything more than a religious institution; its framework cannot be successfully utilized by the Poles for other social purposes, since they do not feel "at home" in a parish whose prevalent language and mores are different and with whose other members they have no social connections. The parish is not "their own" product, they have less control over its management than over that of a Polish parish which they have founded by free cooperation, they get little encouragement for the various common activities which they wish to initiate and obtain little prestige by their achievements; they cannot use the parish system to satisfy their desire for personal recognition, and so on. In short, unless they are already Americanized individually they do not get out of the English-speaking Catholic parish any satisfaction of their "social instinct." Of course if they are not numerous enough to establish a parish of their own, many join the nearest Irish-American church, which then becomes an important factor of their Americanization. But in this case a large proportion—all those whose religious interests are not particularly strong—remain outside of all religious life.

It is a mistake to suppose that a "community center" established by American social agencies can in its present form even approximately fulfil the social function of a Polish parish. It is an institution imposed from the outside instead of being freely developed by

the initiative and cooperation of the people themselves and this, in addition to its racially unfamiliar character, would be enough to prevent it from exercising any deep social influence. Its managers usually know little or nothing of the traditions, attitudes and native language of the people with whom they have to deal, and therefore could not become genuine social leaders under any conditions. The institution is based on the type of a "club," which is entirely unknown to the Polish peasant. Whatever common activities it tries to develop are almost exclusively "leisure time" activities; and while these undoubtedly do correspond to a real social need, they are not sufficient by themselves to keep a community together and should be treated only as a desirable superstructure to be raised upon a strong foundation of *economic* cooperation. Whatever real assistance the American social center gives to the immigrant community is the result of the "case method," which consists in dealing directly and separately with individuals or families. While this method may bring efficient temporary help to the individual it does not contribute to the social progress of the community nor does it possess much preventive influence in struggling against social disorganization. Both these purposes can be attained only by organizing and encouraging social self-help on the cooperative basis. Finally, in their relations with immigrants the American social workers usually assume, consciously or not, the attitude of a kindly and protective superiority, occasionally, though seldom, verging on despotism. This attitude may be accepted by peasants fresh from the old country where they have been accustomed to it in their relations with the higher classes, but it is apt to provoke indignation in those who, after a longer stay in this country, have acquired a high

racial and personal self-consciousness. In either case the result is the same. The immigrant associates his connections with the American institution with humiliation, submitted to willing or unwillingly, whereas in his own Polish institutions not only his self-consciousness is respected, but he expects and easily obtains personal recognition. Of course his priest has also a strong attitude of superiority, but this is fully justified in the peasant's eyes by his sacral character.

We see that the parish as instrument for the unification and organization of the Polish-American community is thus quite unrivalled. The radical elements among Polish immigrants have sometimes tried to oppose its influence by establishing a lay community center, for instance, a theater.[1] But except in large colonies such as Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburg or Buffalo, where community life is too complex to concentrate itself entirely around parishes, these efforts seem to have met but little success, since even the majority of those who are opposed to the control of the clergy—the so-called "national" party—still group their local life around the church and cooperate in parish activities.

However the establishment of a new Polish-American parish meets with many obstacles. The parish has to be recognized and its rector appointed by the bishop. But the bishop, usually an Irish-American, is not inclined to favor the development of foreign-speaking parishes within his diocese. His opposition is further stimulated by the local Irish-American priest who wants the Polish sheep in his sheepstall, and by the Polish priest of the nearest Polish-American parish who expects them to come to his church on important occa-

[1] Kulakowski.

sions or to build a chapel and invite him or his vicar to come once or twice a month to perform the services. The latter solution is usually accepted provisionally as long as the colony is relatively small and poor. But if the Polish parish is not near enough, or if the colony increases rapidly, or if its "society" is strong and ambitious and has active and independent leaders, the matter is soon taken up again. Sometimes the opposition of the bishop is broken by an appeal to Rome, where the Polish-American clergy has influential connections due to the order of Redemptionists (see Chapter IV). Some times a different weapon is resorted to, particularly if the colony has many "free-thinkers." (A very moderate degree of heterodoxy is usually enough to earn this name.) These suggest the establishment of an "independent" parish, *i. e.*, a parish which, while preserving most of the traditional Catholic dogmas and ceremonies, does not belong to the Roman Catholic Church and does not recognize the authority of the Pope nor of the Roman Catholic bishops. The proposition may be accepted by the community. In fact there are at this moment nearly 50 "independent" Polish parishes unified into a "Polish National Church," whose head is Bishop Hodur of Scranton, Pa., besides an unknown number of isolated independent parishes which have not joined this church. The establishment of an independent parish is easy if the community agrees, for any member of the Roman Catholic clergy who is willing to emancipate himself from the Roman Catholic Church is acceptable as priest. The Polish National Church requires also the rejection of a few dogmas, the chief of which is belief in Hell and the use of Polish instead of Latin during the mass; but among the young vicars, who are often badly treated by their rectors, many would gladly accept

an invitation to become the rector of an independent parish. More frequently, however, the American Catholic bishop, in view of this danger of heresy, yields to the demand of the Polish colony and recognizes the new parish and appoints a priest for it.

When the parish has been organized the mutual help association to which this organization is due ceases to be, of course, the central and only representative institution of the community, for the leadership naturally passes into the hands of the priest. But it does not surrender entirely any of its social functions; it simply shares the initiative in communal matters and the representation of the community with the priest on the one hand, and on the other hand with the other associations which now begin to appear in rapid succession. The establishment of the parish opens new fields of social activity, widens the sphere of interests and calls for more and better social cooperation. For *the ideal of the development of the community,* which did not consciously exist while the community had no organ and was only vaguely conceived and intermittently realized during the period when the local mutual help "society" played the leading rôle, becomes now clearly formulated as the common ideal of the whole group and relentlessly pursued. The existence of a framework for the permanent organization of the community in the form of a parish produces both a tendency to utilize this framework to the full extent of its possibilities and a corresponding desire to see the community grow in numbers, wealth, cohesion and complexity of activities. While individualistic motives—economic reasons with those whose living depends on the Polish colony, desire for wider recognition with those who fulfil public functions, etc.—may give a strong additional incentive to in-

dividual activities tending to realize this ideal, the chief foundation of the latter is social. It is the same "community spirit" which makes the individual identify his interests with those of his group in the "we"-feeling, which makes the mass of the population of a state desire its expansion. We shall see the fundamental part which this aspiration to have one's group grow plays in the development of all Polish-American institutions.

The priest, far from limiting the activities of local associations, favors their development and utilizes them consistently as instruments for all purposes connected with the progress of the parish. While in Polish country parishes the chief method of obtaining the cooperation of the community in matters connected with the church is an appeal to the large mass of parishioners directly or through the parish council, in Polish cities the help of religious "fraternities" is largely used for such purposes as special religious celebrations and pilgrimages, æsthetic improvements of the church building, development of church music and song, organization of charities, etc. In America this system of collaboration of organized groups is extended in two ways. First, in addition to religious fraternities, which are for the most part initiated by the priest himself for purely devotional purposes and remain under his complete control, lay associations with economic or cultural purposes, and more or less independent of the priest, are also expected to contribute to the aims of the parish. Secondly, these aims are no longer limited to matters of cult and charity, but embrace all fields of social life.

Immediately after the completion of the church or even before, the parish school is organized. Usually the church is planned as a two-story building, the lower story including class rooms and halls for small meet-

ings. Sometimes a private house is rented or bought for school purposes. Both arrangements prove only provisional usually, for the growth of the parish sooner or later forces it to erect a special school building. There are many parishes—five in Chicago alone—whose school is attended by more than 2,000 children. The teachers are mainly nuns of the various teaching orders, though sometimes priests and lay men-teachers are also found, particularly in the larger colonies. Polish and English are both employed as teaching languages, the proportion varying in different schools.

We cannot study here the much discussed question of the educational inferiority or superiority of parochial schools as compared with public schools. Good or bad, the parochial school is a social product of the immigrant group and satisfies important needs of the latter. The most essential point is neither the religious character of the parochial school, nor even the fact that it serves to preserve in the young generation the language and cultural traditions of the old country; it is the function of the parochial school as a factor of the social unity of the immigrant colony and of its continuity through successive generations. The school is a new, concrete, institutional bond between the immigrants. Its first effect is to bring them territorially together, for it has been noticed that proximity to the school—where the children must go every day—is considered even more desirable than proximity to the church. Further, the education of the children is an interest common to all members, just as the religious interest, and this community is fostered by the participation of the parents in all school celebrations and festivities. But even more important than this unification of the old generation is the bond which the parish school creates between the

old and the young generation. Whereas children who go to public school become completely estranged from their parents, if these are immigrants, the parish school, in spite of the fact that its program of studies is in many respects similar to that of the public school, in a large measure prevents this estrangement, not only because it makes the children acquainted with their parents' religion, language and national history but also because it inculcates respect for these traditional values and for the nation from which they came. Moreover the school is not only a common bond between all the members of the old generation but is also considered by the young generation as their own institution, thus fostering their interest in the affairs of the Polish-American colony. The parochial school is a necessary expression of the tendency of the immigrant community to self-preservation and self-development.

Some large and wealthy parishes have gone further still and established high schools. One—the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka in Chicago—has even founded a college which is, however, only a little more than a high school. In these cases some economic help from other parishes is expected and obtained, so that these institutions though located within the territories of certain parishes are already in a measure part of the superterritorial Polish-American system. Quite above the territorial parochial organization are such educational institutions as seminaries for priest and for teachers, and the College of the Polish National Alliance in Cambridge Springs, Pa.

The social attitudes manifested with reference to questions of public charity and social work in general are interesting. It has been noticed that as compared, for instance with the Jewish charitable institutions, the

Poles in America have little to show in this line. Care for orphans and care for the old and incurable are practically the only problems which are more or less seriously dealt with; in other fields initiative is rare and realization insufficient. The few charitable institutions belong for the most part to the super-territorial system, and seldom to territorial communities. They are due to the personal efforts of a few leading members of Polish-American society acting through the church and influenced by Christian principles rather than to the recognition of altruistic obligations by the society at large. In a word, no social need to take care of the weak seems to be felt by Polish-American communities. This seems strange in view of the old traditions of social solidarity and of the fact that in the beginning of the development of a new colony, as we saw above, assistance is invariably given to the needy. The more coherent and self-conscious the community becomes, the less is it inclined to bother with the misadapted and the disabled. This is simply a manifestation of the tendency of the group to self-preservation, made possible by the facility of excluding the weak members from, or more exactly, of not including them in the community system. As long as the community is small and loose, scattered among Americans, any "fellow-countryman" belongs to it by the same right as any other, and common national origin connected with the feeling of group responsibility before American society is sufficient to maintain the obligation to help in distress. But when the community has grown large and has more or less concentrated itself territorially and created by social cooperation a system of institutions, it becomes more exclusive. It is no longer sufficient to be a Pole and to live in the given locality in order to be considered a member of the com-

munity, the subject of social rights and the object of social responsibility. The individual must voluntarily cooperate in the construction and development of the social system of the community, join the parish and one or more of the local associations, contribute economically to common aims and take part in common activities. Unless he does this he is an outsider with reference to whom the community has no obligations and for whom it does not feel responsible before American social opinion, because it is proud of its positive achievements in social organization and, imagining that American society knows and appreciates its work, does not think that this appreciation can be counterbalanced by any individual cases of despondency or pauperism which may be found among the Poles not actually belonging to the organization.

In a new form we find here the well-known old method of dealing with the undesirable individual—the method of severing all connection between this individual and the group. But in groups whose social unity is chiefly based on ties of kinship or on the exclusive control of a given territory the undesirable individual is primarily the anti-social individual, and the individual who is merely inefficient is seldom explicitly qualified as undesirable and, with rare exceptions, is kept within the group, unless the solidarity of the latter has been weakened as a consequence of social disorganization; whereas in a group whose social unity is the result of conscious efforts the mere inability or unwillingness to participate in these efforts is sufficient to disqualify the individual. Nothing shows more clearly the difference between the old organization which we have found among the peasants in Poland and the Polish-American social system than the fact that the same phe-

nomenon—ignoring or dropping the inefficient and misadapted—which there was a sign of weakness and decay is here a mark of strength and growth. The moral reason by which the Polish-American community justifies its apparent egotism is found in the very basis of its organization. The latter is socially and economically an organization for self-help; its first purpose is to prevent the individual from becoming a burden to the community, and the individual who does not choose to avail himself of the opportunities which this organization offers voluntarily resigns all claims to the help of the group. If the latter still feels obliged to assist in some measure the orphans, the old and the incurables, it is only in so far as it feels that the system of mutual insurance is not yet efficient enough to cover these cases adequately.

Of course since the Polish-American community tends to ignore even the merely inefficient, we cannot expect it to take any care of the demoralized. The contrast is striking between the intense reformatory activities found in Poland (see in particular Vol. IV, Chapter II) and the entire lack of interest in reformatory work in this country. Individual demoralization is either ignored or the demoralized individual is simply dropped at once. No one bothers about the innumerable cases of family decay, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, vagabondage, crime. Few know the full extent of the demoralization going on among American Poles. We expect that the study of demoralization which constitutes the second part of this volume and is based on American sources will be a painful surprise to most of the constructive elements of Polish-American society. Here again the contrast with peasant communities in Poland is instructive. The latter could not get rid of

demoralized individuals unless demoralization had proceeded as far as crime. Thus, they had to make efforts to control their anti-social members. Further, the community was the only social milieu of the individual, and the closeness and complexity of social contacts were such that every action of the individual more or less affected the group, whereas here the Polish-American community can easily cut off a harmful member by excluding him from its organizations or, in radical cases, giving him up to American institutions. The problem is solved as soon as raised. But it seldom has to be raised at all, for the Polish-American community does not claim to absorb the individual completely; it is not necessarily and directly affected by everything he does in his private circle or in his contacts with American society. It needs only a part of his activity for its social purposes, and as long as he remains able to perform this part and does not draw others into conflict with American social opinion and law, it matters little to the parish or the local association what else he does or does not do. In Polish country communities the interest of the group is to know everything about the individual and to control his entire behavior, whereas the interest of the Polish-American community is to leave out of consideration anything in the individual's past and present which has no direct bearing on his positive social obligations so as not to impair the growth of its institutions by scrutinizing too closely the private life of those who can be useful in its public affairs. Of course there is gossip, which represents a degenerate remnant of the social opinion of the primary group. The clergy still, though vaguely and impersonally, preach against sin in private life and continue to exercise some of their old reformatory influence through confession. A few idealists

from the old country, imperfectly adapted to local conditions, and some religious or political *revoltés* disclose through the press the private life histories of certain prominent members of Polish-American communities. In general, however, by a tacit understanding individuals enjoy immunity from social control in all except their social activities in Polish-American institutions.

This does not mean, however, that the Polish-American community does not attempt to extend the field of its control. The method reflectively or unreflectively used for this purpose can perhaps never completely subordinate all individuals in all respects to the influence of the group, but is very efficient as far as it goes. We may characterize it as aiming 1) to attract every individual into the sphere of public activities and to open for him the way to social prominence in some field; 2) to institutionalize as many activities as possible. The first tendency is manifested very clearly. By multiplying indefinitely associations and circles, and by a very active propaganda exercised through all possible mediums, nearly all the members of the parish—men, women and young people—even those who for some reason or other have not yet joined the parish or have dropped out, can become in some way connected with the system and thus acquire a minimum of public character. This public character grows whenever an individual is, even if only momentarily, connected as public functionary with some scheme for common action—religious ceremony, entertainment, meeting, bazaar, collection for a social purpose, etc.—and this increased public importance is every year attained by a large proportion of the community. The highest degree of public dignity is, of course, the share of those who are elected officers in associations or become members of permanent commit-

tees or directors of institutions; and if we realize that every association has from 6 to 20 officials, that every committee numbers on the average 10 members and that some large parishes have more than 70 associations and committees while even a small parish has at least a dozen of them, we see that every active and fairly intelligent individual, of whatever sex and age, is sure of becoming some time a public dignitary; and even if the existing organization does not give him enough opportunities, he can always initiate a new institution and gain recognition as organizer and charter member.

By thus giving the individual favorable attention and inducing him to take voluntarily a place "in the limelight" among the leaders, the community controls him better than by making him a passive object of its "ordering and forbidding" regulations, particularly when the latter cannot be physically enforced. The conscious purpose of the multiplication of public "dignities" is to interest personally as many members as possible in the development of the community and to give everybody a chance to get recognition. But the individual who believes himself elected for his positive qualities, who feels that public opinion is interested in his behavior (and usually exaggerates this interest), and who knows that the community expects him to be and to remain superior to the average, usually tries to adapt his behavior, if not his character, to these expectations. It happens, of course, that an individual placed in a responsible position with opportunities for abuse cannot withstand the temptation, particularly if the position is too far above his intellectual and moral capacities, as is sometimes the case with officials of the great super-territorial institutions which have outgrown the level of their leaders. Such cases are, however, rare in ter-

ritorial communities and small local institutions, and the often ridiculous vanity and importance of the innumerable "public dignitaries" are more than offset by their positive qualities. This moralizing influence of "public dignities" is, of course, noticeable only with members of the communities who owe their positions to election and are raised above the level by social opinion. Positions which are obtained by appointment and superiorities based not upon the recognition of the community but upon other factors, such as the sacral character of the priest, economic supremacy, "jobs" in American institutions, fail to produce the same effect, for the individual considers himself independent of the community and above social opinion.

The other method of extending social control—institutionalization of activities—is evidently involved in the very organization of the community. The church and church associations institutionalize religious activities, the mutual insurance associations certain economic interests, and the parish school education. This method is further extended to other fields. Thus public entertainments under the auspices of local associations or parochial committees play a large part in the life of a Polish-American colony and are gradually taking the place of private entertainments; and if we remember that a ball, a picnic, a theatrical representation or a concert with a mixed program—song, music, recitals, speeches requires much time and energy in its preparation, we see that by this means a large proportion of individual activities are transferred from private to publice life and subjected to social control. A custom which has an old origin but has been developed to an unprecedented extent during the war—the custom of making a collection for some public purpose at all wed-

dings, christenings, etc.—gives even to private entertainments some institutional meaning. Among the local associations we find theatrical and literary circles and even circles for sewing and crocheting in common at periodical meetings. Informally and unreflectively, buying and selling have become more or less a public matter, for every Polish-American shop is a meeting-place for the neighborhood, where private and public matters are discussed. It would seem that the best way to institutionalize all leisure-time activities would be to introduce the Anglo-American principle of clubs. Strangely, however, the club does not seem to thrive in Polish-American communities. A few associations (particularly the *sokol,* a gymnastic organization) have, indeed, become clubs by acquiring houses of their own which are continually open to members, establishing reading rooms, dining-rooms, billiard rooms, gymnasiums, etc., but the use made of these club arrangements is still very limited. Attempts have been made to establish clubs for young people, and some have been successful; but the failures are more striking than the successes, for they show that for the Polish immigrant, just as for the Polish peasant in the old country, the institutionalization of leisure time activities is still indissolubly connected with the excitement of public meetings.

The double tendency to draw as many personalities and activities as possible into the sphere of public attention culminates in the press. The wealth of printed material bearing on the local life of Polish-American colonies is surprising, particularly if compared with the limited use which primary communities in Poland make of the press. Whereas the popular press there is mainly an instrument for the unification and centralization of

many primary communities into a wider community, here its predominant functions are to express, perpetuate, control and unify the social life of each particular primary community. Of course professional publications and those connected with the super-territorial Polish-American system have other purposes similar to those of the popular press in Poland; but even these, the newspapers in particular, have to serve in some measure the interests of the local communities within which they are published.

The desire of the Polish-American community to give its personalities and activities official publicity and to have them recorded for the future manifests itself at first chiefly, as in Poland, in correspondence addressed to the Polish newspapers which are published in neighboring Polish-American centers or are the organs of super-territorial institutions. But very early it begins to show a tendency to have a press of its own in the form at least of commemorative pamphlets and sheets—statutes and yearly accounts of associations, programs of meetings, records of successive steps in the organization of the parish, etc. Publicity has to remain on this stage until some local newspaper is started which, of course, is possible only when the colony is numerous or is a center of several small colonies scattered in the neighborhood. The local newspaper originates in various ways. Sometimes it is started as a political organ connected with an institution which is strong enough to support it and make it an instrument of propagation; in these cases it usually develops into a super-territorial publication serving the interests of a party of cooperative organization and only secondarily those of the local community. Such has been the history of several newspapers which have come to play an important rôle in

Polish-American national life. Sometimes the priest initiates the publication of a paper devoted at first chiefly to religious matters, and then the printing-office may be used also for the publication of religious pamphlets and books. Such a paper, to which the parish or at least its religious associations are usually made to contribute in some form, either becomes slightly secularized and, by paying attention to all local affairs, fulfils the function of a community organ, or continues to serve the more exclusively professional interests of the church in general, and in this case may obtain a country-wide circulation; or it combines both the local and the professional religious functions, as is the case, for instance, with the organ of the Polish National Church, published in Scranton, and with several Roman-Catholic papers. In other cases the newspaper is supported by some business man—banker, real estate agent, owner of a printing-office—and then it is an instrument for advertising his business or helping to raise his standing in American circles. But often, particularly in the larger American cities, where there is the hope of obtaining advertisements from American firms, the foundation of a newspaper is a free personal enterprise, motivated by idealistic reasons or by the desire for recognition, or treated as purely private business. Then the newspaper cannot be anything else than an organ of the community, for its circulation and its very existence depend entirely on the way it expresses the social life of the group.

Through this organ not only the attention of which the public personalities and activities are the object is continually revived (for the paper prints, of course, all the records of public institutions, meetings, etc.) but many individuals and facts which otherwise would remain private and would be at most objects of unregu-

lated gossip are drawn into the circle of official public interest. The newspaper becomes a factor of prime importance in community life, for it partly reorganizes the degenerated and disorganized social opinion which, as we have seen in our first volumes, was the main factor of unity and control of the primary group in the old country. It does this on a new basis which is not perhaps as solid as the old, for social opinion is no longer formed by the community directly in personal contacts but indirectly through the instrumentality of print and through the medium of the editor, whose own personality constitutes an incalculable factor of variation. And yet when the old standards by which the community spontaneously selected and judged phenomena of public importance are no longer strong enough to assure without conscious regulation a unified and consistent social opinion, the concentration of news in a specialized organ which standardizes it before spreading it around is probably the only way of substituting some uniformity, order and public spirit for the chaos of gossip.

An interesting development in the same line is the so-called "album" of the parish, a commemorative publication which in older parishes is issued on important anniversaries by the parish committee presided over by the priest and contains an illustrated history of the parish up to date, with brief records of all the institutions included within its limits, collective photographs of all the associations, portraits and short biographies of the most prominent members and families, etc.—in short, a perfectly standardized synopsis of everything which social opinion considers worth knowing and remembering about the community.[1]

[1] Most of the materials published at the end of this chapter come from such albums, particularly from those of the parishes of St. Stanisłaus and of the Holy Trinity in Chicago.

Simultaneously with this process of social organizaton of the Polish-American group its territorial concentration goes on. There is, of course, a certain minimum of concentration preceding the establishment of the parish and resulting from the tendency of the immigrants to be sufficiently near one another for frequent social intercourse. But this tendency alone cannot completely counterbalance the desire to live near the place of work and results only in drawing together the Poles who work in the same or neighboring factories and shops. In large cities the obstacle of distance is only partially overcome and if the colony grows fast each separate neighborhood tends to become the nucleus of a separate parish. This is, for instance, the case in Chicago, where we find three large Polish neighborhoods, each including several primary parish-communities—located on the north side, around the stockyards, and in South Chicago—and a number of smaller ones, each constituting an independent primary-community. If the colony remains small, relatively to the size of the city, it may not form any territorially concentrated communities even after parishes have been established. This is the case in New York, where no exclusively Polish neighborhoods exist. This situation, however, is rare; usually the majority of the members of a parish gather around their church and school. This process is consciously fostered by the parish committee and the priest who endeavor to select the location for the church as close as possible to the centers where most of the Poles work and also take care to choose a neighborhood where rent is low and real estate cheap. If the choice has been successful the process of territorial concentration begins at once. The original population of the district is slowly but ceaselessly driven away, for an

Irish, German or Italian tenant or houseowner who sees Polish families take the place of his former neighbors and knows that they have come to stay near their parish-center soon moves to a more congenial neighborhood. At the same time a Polish real estate agency or, on a higher stage of social organization, a building association or a cooperative savings and loan bank pursues a campaign among the Poles which leads to a progressive transfer of houses and vacant lots into Polish hands. The campaign favored by the parish leaders from social considerations is evidently also good business, for the same reasons which make the neighborhood of the Polish church less valuable for other national groups raise its value for the Poles. The very growth of concentration produces new factors of further concentration. Polish shops, originally selling everything indispensable for the household and later specializing as various businesses—groceries, liquor, shoes, clothes, photographs, books, banking, undertaking, contracting—attract Polish customers and consciously contribute to the Polonization of the neighborhood. In the older colonies the entire practical business of the immigrants living near their social center is transacted exclusively with Polish firms. Later still, Polish professional men, chiefly lawyers and physicians, settle in the colony or at least have offices there. Curiously, the Jews who in Poland almost monopolize small trade in provincial localities, here relatively seldom settle within a Polish neighborhood; though they try to reach Polish customers also, they evidently, with rare exceptions, do not wish to limit the sphere of their business to one immigrant group.

The evolution of the Polish community in this country is thus in a sense the reverse of the evolution of primary peasant communities in Poland. Whereas ter-

ritorial vicinity is there the original foundation of community life, and all social organization is built upon this basis, here reflective social organization becomes the main factor of territorial concentration. When, however, the latter has been in a considerable measure achieved the process is reversed again and social organization, just as in Poland, begins to depend on territorial neighborhood.

This is well exemplified by the history of secessionist groups. The latter exist in every community, for the subordination of all social life to the parish system always meets some opposition, particularly because it leads to a supremacy of the clergy. The reason for opposition is more or less a matter of principle, but no doubt personal antagonisms often contribute to its development. The secessionists form an organization independent of the parish system and often attempt to create a territorial center away from the church in the form of a "national home" as locus for common activities. But since religious activities are not included, and the group lacks the means and the framework for establishing a regular school, and the parish is a well-known old country institution, whereas the national home is an entirely new thing, the latter does not exercise the same attraction as the church in the way of territorial grouping, though it may become an important center of social organization. Therefore in older communities the concentration of the Polish-American colony around the church is usually accepted and utilized by the secessionists who by establishing their social centers near the parish center and developing their activities within the territorial community introduce new complications into Polish-American life.

There are two important types of secessionist groups

—the "nationalists" and the socialists. We shall study these groups in the next chapter as components of the super-territorial Polish-American organization where they play a very important part, more important, indeed, than those groups which are integral parts of the parish system. But there is no doubt that as elements of the territorial organization of the community they are relatively weak. The only way in which they can obtain predominance in community life is not by opposing another local organization to the parish organization but by becoming a part of the parish organization and controlling it. This is naturally often the case with "independent" parishes; but there are also Roman-Catholic parishes in which "nationalistic" organizations have the upper hand even in the parish activities. These parishes—as, for instance, the Holy Trinity in Chicago—are usually characterized by a more democratic spirit, a greater independence with reference to the theocratic policy of the clergy, and the higher intellectual and moral level of their priests; and of course the parish as a form of community organization is strengthened by the cooperation of its more liberal elements. But the parishes are more numerous in which the "nationalist" associations resign themselves to the rôle of forming a minority opposition *within* the parish, while acknowledging some common interests with the majority, and there remain a large number of communities where nationalist associations stay *outside* of and in permanent opposition to the whole parish system. The institutions initiated or controlled by socialists are still more consistent and active in struggling for a lay community organization. Thus the parish can seldom if ever permanently monopolize all the social life of the community, particularly as its opponents have usually most of the intelligent

members of the colony on their side. And even if it succeeds in overcoming active opposition, it cannot prevent the increasingly rapid growth of associations which, while not aiming to supplant it as community center, wish to remain free and separate from the parochial system, and do not care to cooperate in its development. To this class belong, besides some mutual help organizations, many of the gymnastic, educational and professional societies. In every large community there are thus a number of small social circles whose functions are independent of those of the parish. Nevertheless, the latter continues to keep its hold through religion and primary education upon individual members of those circles, with the exception of the socialists and a few free-thinkers.

[Documents 13-23 describe associations and institutions connected with the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka, the largest and most conservative Polish parish in America.]

13. Not much information has been preserved about the first beginnings [of the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka] in Chicago. . . . In 1864 . . . about 30 families belonged to the Polish settlement in Chicago and these organized the first Polish association in this city with the name, Society of Fraternal Help, and under the patronage of St. Stanisław Kostka. Its organizers were Antoni Smarzewski-Schermann (the first permanent Polish settler in Chicago), Pitor Kiolbassa, the well-known leader of the Polonia[1] of Chicago, respected and esteemed by the whole city (he came from Silesia), Jan Niemczewski, Jan Arkuszewski and Pawel Kurr. . . . Alas, . . . after a short existence the society fell. . . .

In 1864 after the strenuous efforts of Pitor Kiołbassa and after many requests from the Polish settlers in Chicago, Priest Leopold Moczygemba arrived. He had been traveling as a missionary in Texas and other southern States, and came only to

[1] "Polonia" is a name frequently applied to the totality of Poles in America, or to any local community of Poles in this country.

hear the Easter confessions of the Poles. But his stay became memorable and important, because he was the first Polish priest who had come to his fellow-citizens in Chicago with religious services.

The Polish colony received Priest Moczygemba with vivid joy and in a really elevated spirit. The stay of this pastor in the Chicago settlement revived wonderfully the desire for a stable and permanent organization. For it is a well-known and certain thing that . . . wherever there is a priest, a church, wherever a parish is being created, there Polish life grows vigorously, there our number multiplies, for from all sides people come willingly, feeling better among their own and with their own, feeling safer under the protective wings of the parish and with their own shepherd, who here in a foreign land is not only a representative of his brothers before the altar of the Lord but leads and represents them in all worldly affairs . . . is in the whole sense of this word, a social and national worker.

Thus in our settlement, which was continually growing because of the influx of immigrants, in the beginning of 1866 the idea was taken up of calling to life again the Society of St. Stanisław. . . . Indeed, it was revived so thoroughly that it grew soon to be quite important and has remained up to now the first permanent union of the Poles in our city. . . . The constitution of the society was accepted June 1st, 1866. It was printed in Paris. The first officers of the association were [7 names].

After the existence of the Society of St. Stanisław and its further development were assured, the spirit of organization, once aroused in our settlement, did not rest. And they began to think about founding a Polish parish in Chicago. In the beginning . . . there was no Polish priest and the divine service was performed for the Poles in turn by the rector of the Czech parish, Priest Molitor, and by the Jesuit, Priest Szulak. . . . The time about which we are speaking was the year 1867. The settlement counted about 150 families [mostly from Silesia] when they finally began to think about buying land for a church of their own. . . . Four lots were bought at the corner of Noble and Bradley Streets . . . for $1,700. The place chosen was then quite isolated . . . but since some decision had to be taken in order to establish at last the much desired parish . . . the con-

struction of the church was started in September, 1869. . . . The church was under the patronage of St. Stanisław Kostka, built of wood. The first floor was designed for school rooms and had a hall for meetings. On the second floor was the church. The entire cost of the building was $6,885. . . .

Priest Józef Juszkiewicz was appointed the first rector of the parish. . . . In 1870 Priest Adolf Bakanowski from the Order of the Resurrection of Our Lord came to Chicago. . . . The growth of the parish promised to be quite good. Unhappily, for various reasons dissatisfaction and misunderstandings arose until finally the parish stood in open opposition to its rector, Priest Juszkiewicz. . . . The parishioners reproached the priest with insufficient care for the parish, which was undeveloped and poor, and finally went to Priest Bakanowski eagerly petitioning him to become their rector instead of Priest Juszkiewicz. Priest Bakanowski refused, explaining that he did not belong to the diocese, that he was dependent upon his Order and was on the way to Rome. In order to show that he had no personal interest in the whole affair and not to be suspected of intriguing between the quarrelling parties he moved to the other end of the city. . . .

Meanwhile among the Polonia disorders continued and finally the excitement reached a point where it nearly ended fatally. One night 6 masked men rang the door-bell of Priest Juszkiewicz and when he opened the door beat him severely, threatening him with death if he did not leave the parish. An inquiry began, but nothing certain could be discovered. Finally Priest Juszkiewicz left the parish, and Bishop Foley appealed to Priest Bakanowski and appointed him rector of the parish, at the same time informing the Superior of the Order of Resurrectionists, Priest Kajsiewicz in Rome. . . .

The work in the parish of St. Stanisław was very tiring for Priest Bakanowski; it was much harder here than the missionary work in Texas, where the difficulties of geographical conditions and climate were the only ones, whereas in Chicago it was necessary to struggle with a complex of hostile social elements, parties absorbed in politics, headed mostly by men who were not worth much and who belonged to various American secret societies—they say even to Masonic lodges. To those

pseudo-progressives the calm and noiseless domination of the Catholic Church and religious practices were undesirable. Therefore they made continual trouble and placed obstacles in the way of every positive initiative. . . . Meanwhile news came from the Order of Resurrectionists that this Order took the Chicago mission under its protection and appointed Priest Bakanowski its head. Priest J. Wołłowski was designated as his assistant because the Polish colony was growing very rapidly both with regard to the number of the population and with regard to the territory inhabited by the Poles. . . .

June 18, 1871, the church was very solemnly consecrated. The act of consecration was performed by Bishop Foley of the Chicago diocese, and several fraternities and associations from neighboring parishes of other nationalities took part in this Polish celebration. The property of the new church was deeded to the Bishop in trust for the Order of Resurrectionists. The celebration was concluded by a splendid and, for that time, large parade through the streets of the city in which 2,200 persons took part in orderly lines with standards under the leadership of 11 marshals on horseback. Eight non-Polish associations participated in this parade and some of these had to come 5 miles, a proof how at that time people were interested in every new religious center. . . .

After the great fire of 1871 the conditions in Chicago were greatly changed in every respect. These changes were for the better. The city began to be feverishly rebuilt. In all economical fields intense activity manifested itself; there was much work, a great demand for workers, and a large influx of immigrants. Many Poles came during this period to our city, the greatest number to settle in the north-western part of the town in the neighborhood of the parish of St. Stanisław. Consequently, the parish grew very much in a short time and new difficulties appeared, for the church became too small to hold the parishioners. This trouble was discussed for a long time at meetings of the parish council. There were many understandings and misunderstandings. Some wanted to rebuild or extend the church, others favored the establishment of a new parish in the neighborhood. Finally, the matter was left in the hands of the two main associations, the older Society of St. Stanisław and

the younger Society of St. Józef. After a long discussion, which did not always progress peaceably, the foundation of a new parish and the construction of another church was decided. In this way the parish under the patronage of the Holy Trinity came to be founded. . . .[1] In the same year 21 acres of land were bought for a Polish and Czechish cemetery in Niles, Ill. . . .

In 1873 Priest Bakanowski went to Rome . . . and in 1874 Priest Wincenty Michal Barzyński, of the Resurrectionists, the greatest and most prominent leader of the American Polonia, an incomparable organizer, was appointed rector of the parish of St. Stanisław. . . . Among the first acts of Priest Barzyński in our parish was the building of a rectory at the cost of $1,500. The same year he entrusted the parochial school to the sisters of the Order of Notre Dame of Milwaukee, Wis. Since that time this Order has conducted our school for many years and the sisters by their thorough and highly competent pedagogical work have made this school one of the best, largest, and most important Polish schools in America. We must further mention as a happening of particular importance, not only for the parish itself but for the whole American Polonia, the organization of a general Polish meeting or diet in October, 1874, in our Stanisławowo [community surrounding the church of St. Stanisław—usual way of naming Polish-American communities]. To this diet came 12 Polish priests and a number of delegates sent by various Polish parishes. The chief initiator of this diet and of the plans which it formed was Priest Barzyński. He propagated the idea of a general Polish organization [which later developed under the name of] . . . The Polish Roman Catholic Union.

About this time a new Polish parish was organized in the southern part of the city under the patronage of St. Wojciech—the present Wojciechowo. Priest Barzyński rendered meritorious services in connection with this work, for he did not by any means limit his activity to his own parish, but extended it soon over the whole local Polonia and even more distant Polish parishes within a wide radius, organizing settlements, colonies,

[1] The author does not present this matter very fully because the clergy of the parish of St. Stanisław and the Order of Resurrectionists were violently opposed to the foundation of the new parish and the latter was an act of secession performed by the Society of St. Józef and successful only because of an appeal directly to the Pope.

parishes in settlements and colonies, caring for the spiritual needs of his fellow-citizens, like a real good elder-brother of his brethren. . . .

In 1875 land was bought for a new church, for the old one had long ago proved insufficient. Lots were bought between Bradley and Ingraham Streets for $11,500 and on this place arose, thanks to the intense personal efforts of Priest Barzyński, the present splendid church of St. Stanisław, one of the most beautiful and largest churches in Chicago. . . . In 1878 a new rectory was built near the church, . . . in 1879 a house for the sisters working in the parochial school. . . . The value of the parochial real estate had already reached the sum of $100,000—very high for those times. . . . We must mention the foundation in 1882, on the initiative of Priest Jan Radziejewski and with the help of Priest Barzyński, of a new Polish parish in South Chicago under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception of the Holiest Virgin Mary, for the Poles in this district of the city were too far distant from the other Polish parishes and were thus deprived of the possibility of frequenting a Polish church. . . . In 1883 the old church building was repaired and turned into a school-building, because the old school was already over-crowded. . . . In 1884 we find a new proof of the industry and wide interests of Priest Barzyński. It is a well-known and well remembered fact that under the influence of Priest Barzyński a whole series of new parishes was organized in the city and its environs. In the year mentioned the parish of St. Józafat was founded, more than a mile to the north of the parish of St. Stanisław. . . . In the same year the church was beautifully painted inside under the supervision and according to the plans of the prominent Polish painter Tadeusz Żukotyński. Finally, on the initiative of Stanislawowo, land was bought for the church of a new parish organized under the patronage of St. Jadwiga. . . .

In 1889 a new school was built, an enormous four-story building raised at the cost of $95,000. . . . The new building contained 16 school-rooms, 4 halls for meetings, and an enormous hall with a stage containing 4,000 seats, the second largest in the city, designed for theatrical performances, national celebrations and other public meetings. . . . In 1890 the parish was

visited by the General Superior of the Order of Resurrectionists, Priest Waleryan Przewłocki, who remained among us for a few months. . . . This year is also memorable because during it higher courses for the students of our parochial schools were commenced which became the nucleus of the College of St. Stanisław, a well-known institution which for 25 years has worked honorably in the field of Polish education in America. This institution has become a real *alma mater* of a large number of our local workers, is the hotbed of our own Polish-American intellectual class. The initiative of these courses was due again to the father and guardian of the Polonia of Chicago, Priest Barzyński, in cooperation with Priest General Przewłocki. . . . In 1896 a two weeks' revival under the leadership of the Jesuits took place in our parish. This revival brought good fruit and contributed in a considerable measure to the progress of religious spirit and the improvement of mores. . . . The year 1889 covered the parish of St. Stanisław with deep mourning which spread like a pall over the whole Polonia of Chicago and even over all the Polish emigrants in America. Priest Wincenty Barzyński died. . . . His funeral took place on May 5, with an enormous attendance of clergy, of many prominent personalities and of a numberless crowd of people. The funeral procession was a great manifestation, an homage of grateful fellow-countrymen to the great merits of the prominent priest-patriot. . . . In 1903 in connection with the parochial school free lectures were established for young people who had finished their studies, based on the model of the People's Universities. Every Sunday after the divine service several hundred young people came to these lectures. The subjects were Polish literature, Polish history, natural sciences, rights and duties of citizens, etc. The lecturers were priests and laymen. . . .

In 1906 the large parochial school, the pride of the parish, burned down. . . . On the initiative of the rector, Priest Gordon, a new building was immediately begun. Our parish during this very difficult year received help from all sides. . . . Among others, the action of the association under the name The Polish Theater is worth remembering. This association organized for the benefit of the school a splendid Polish performance in the Auditorium, the largest theatrical hall in Chicago. . . . The

building of the new parochial school is one of the largest of its kind and constructed in accordance with the latest demands of architectural technique. It cost $250,000. . . . In 1908 a new building containing the parish hall was solemnly dedicated. . . . This hall, beautifully decorated and containing 1,000 seats, has become rapidly the center of the Polish theatrical activities in Chicago. . . . On May 10th of the same year occurred the splendid celebration in connection with the dedication of the school, made memorable by the visit of the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Charles Fairbanks. There had probably never yet been in our district or even in all Polish Chicago an equally imposing manifestation. . . . A special reception committee appointed by Priest Gordon received the Vice-President at the station. . . . The celebration began with an enormous parade of Polish associations. At least 8,000 persons participated in the parade and more than 20,000 followed it. . . . Later Archbishop Quigley, assisted by numerous clergy, performed the act of consecrating the new buildings while the associations paraded before the tribune of the Vice-President with shouts and waving standards. . . . Everything manifested to the Vice-President the sincere loyalty of our people to the United States which has given them welfare and protection of their liberty. At the same time the celebration showed to the representative of the United States government and to the whole American society the power of the Polish element in this city and in the whole country. It was an imposing presentation of the results of our laborious progress. . . . Afterwards the rector showed to his guest all the school-rooms, where Mr. Fairbanks saw our children, the future citizens of this country, and in case of need sincere defenders of the starry flag. They visited 50 schoolrooms in which nearly 4,000 children were being educated. . . . Mr. Fairbanks talked with the children. In a few classes the children sang Polish and American hymns. . . . Finally, a banquet for more than 400 persons was given by the Citizens' Club of Thaddeus Kościuszko. . . .

In summer of the same year the American Poles obtained finally, after many years of strenuous efforts, the first realization of their *supplices preces* to the Vatican. Our fellow-countryman, Priest Paweł Rhode, was appointed Assistant-Bishop of

the diocese of Chicago. . . . Everybody remembers those enormous demonstrations in the city of Chicago—the attendance of the Polish clergy from the whole of the United States more numerous than ever, that glorious parade through the city with chariots, standards, musical bands and torches. It was the largest parade the Poles of Chicago had ever arranged and one of the largest the city had ever seen. As the oldest and largest parish, St. Stanisław took a very prominent part in these manifestations. . . . We must mention that Priest Bishop Rhode was a pupil of our parish school. . . .

In 1909 there came to Chicago Archbishop Józef Weber, who was appointed Superior of the Resurrectionists in America. . . . In 1912 the first summer-course was opened for the teaching nuns, on the initiative of Bishop Rhode. . . . In 1914 in connection with our parish school a two year commercial course was founded on the model of the American business college, in order to facilitate for our youth the commercial education which is so necessary in this country.

Album Pamiątkowe z Okazyi Złotego Jubileuszu Parafii Św. Stanisława K. [Memorial Album of the Golden Jubilee of the Parish of St. Stanislaw Kostka], Chicago, 1907, pp. 8-32.

[The following documents are descriptions of parochial associations for religious purposes.]

14. *Zuaves of St. Stanisław Kostka.* The Zuaves were organized into an association May 1, 1915, by Rev. Franciszek Dembinski, the present rector of the parish. They wear uniforms, helmets and swords on the model of the Papal Guard in the Vatican. These little knights participate in large celebrations like New Year's, the Forty Hours Divine Service, Pentecost, Christmas, the first communion of school children; they stand on guard at the grave of Lord Jesus [before Easter], take part in the processions on Easter and Corpus Christi. The Zuaves drill in the school courtyard. The drill is taught by the well-known Captain of the Cavalry of Stanisław, Mr. Franciszek Gorzyński. The Zuaves are composed of 30 members chosen from the Society of Altar-boys. . . . They are sons of parents who have belonged to the parish for many years and have been educated in the parochial school. They are obliged to shine as models of devotion, to partake regularly of the Holy

Sacraments and thereby to be good sons of their dear parents, to know the history of their ancestors, the great men of Poland, to talk Polish among themselves and at home. In a word, the Zuaves are expected to be the guardians of everything that is divine and Polish in order to grow to be real Polish patriots and defenders of the Christian faith. [Picture of the group and names of members given.]

Ibid., p. 95.

15. *Society of the Virgins of the Holy Rosary.* This society was organized after many efforts by Rev. Feliks Zwiardowski of sainted memory, Dec. 8, 1874. At the time of the foundation only 15 members, constituting one Rose, joined it. The first Superior was Miss Franciszka Kowalska, the present Mrs. F. Kłosowska. In 1875 came Róża Wisińska (the late Mother Anna of the Order of St. Francis) who filled this office until 1898. Soon after she became Superior the society began to grow in number almost astonishingly. When she left the society counted several hundred virgins, divided into 3 Trees. . . . [Her successors enumerated.]

The first Tree counts now 22 Roses and 330 members. In view of such a rapid growth of this Tree, a second Tree was organized in 1883 by order of Rev. Priest Barzyński. [A similar history of this Tree follows.] . . . When the number of members of the second Tree reached 330 it became necessary to found a third Tree in 1886. Rev. Barzyński appointed as Superior Miss Paulina Welter, who held this office for 27 years, until she married Mr. Relewicz. In her place Augustyna Leszczyńska was elected. . . . [Note that at first the Superiors were appointed by the priest but later were elected.] In 1897 Rev. F. Gordon organized a fourth Tree of girls who had received the Holy Communion. . . . This Tree has reached the number of 375 members divided into 25 Roses. . . .

In 1899 the society celebrated its silver jubilee with great pomp. . . . New church vestments, a standard, and flowers for the altar were bought. In the morning the members went together to the Holy Communion, and at 10 o'clock a solemn divine service was celebrated for the benefit of the virgins, to which were invited societies of virgins of the Holy Rosary from neighboring parishes. In the afternoon at 4 o'clock after sol-

emn vespers, all the members came together in the parish hall where the jubilee celebration was held. The society is proud that many from their number have become nuns, among others Rev. Mother Anna and Sister Teresa . . . whom the society helped not only by its prayers but with money to found the present Home of St. Joseph for old people. The Virgins of the Rosary recognize the work of their rectors and chaplains for the good of their society and never fail when the occasion presents itself to show them their respect and gratitude. The members of this society always willingly participate in activities concerning the parish, helping in bazaars, excursions, waiting on the table at banquets organized for the benefit of the parish, etc.

During all these years the Society of the Virgins of the Rosary has been buying fresh flowers to adorn the altars in the upper church. Not only in the parish but outside of the parish, at every request either of the reverend priests who have institutions under their management or of sisters of holy orders, the society has always given from the funds of its treasury and offered its help. When the sisters of the Order of the Holiest Family came to America on the initiative of Rev. Priest Barzyński the society offered more than $600—all that it then had in its treasury—for their household needs. They offered $350 to the sisters of St. Francis for an organ in their chapel. Every year they organized an excursion on Labor Day to the Garden of Kościuszko in Cragin . . . formerly for the benefit of the Orphanage and now for the benefit of St. Joseph's Home for Old People. Whenever a new Society of Virgins of the Rosary was formed in a new neighboring parish, this society helped either by advice or with money, buying standards for them or contributing toward their treasury in the beginning. . . . In 1916 a club for needlework was established.

The present chaplain of the society is Rev. Priest Rector F. Dembiński. [Photographs of chaplain with each of the four Trees given.]

Ibid., p. 100.

16. *The Brotherhood of Young Men of St. Joseph.* February 4, 1883, Priest Wincenty Barzyński of sainted memory having called together the male youth of the parish of St. Stanisław suggested the idea of organizing them into some fraternity or

association. The rather large number of young men who had come together decided to organize among themselves two associations, a fraternity and a society, both under the patronage of St. Joseph. These two associations, whose aims were somewhat different, began to work together. They held common meetings, elected officers together, and put their dues and other contributions into one treasury. This condition lasted for about three years. In 1886 a division occurred among the young men. The society took the funds, the insignia, the standards, and all other property held in common with the fraternity, and separated from the latter. The fraternity, counting then about 110 members, was left without a penny. To add to their misfortunes, in the following month 70 members left the fraternity, passing to the parish of St. John Kanty which was just being established. This would have been the last blow for the fraternity if it had not been for the strong will of its president, Stanisław Samborski of sainted memory, who spared neither work nor energy in supporting the wavering ones, and carried on the fraternity. Meetings were continued and groups composed of 15 members each came together once a month to exchange their mysteries. During this time Priest Barzyński contributed words of encouragement toward the maintenance of the society. He often told the small group of young men that he was continually praying for a chaplain for them.

In 1896 there came to Chicago Priest Józef Ziemba, who was entrusted at once with the leadership of the youth still remaining more or less true to the fraternity. The new chaplain found the fraternity in a deplorable condition. First of all, the spirit was quite weak, and in the treasury instead of cash were bills to the amount of $30, which could not be paid. Moreover, a member died; a part of his funeral expenses should have been paid, and this could not be done. But all this did not discourage Priest Ziemba. . . . In a short time by his efforts $100 flowed into the treasury from voluntary contributions. A few lotteries were arranged, and more young men were recruited from those who had just received their first communion. Thus progressing, the fraternity in a few years reached 600 members and the cash in the treasury exceeded $1,000. About that time the fraternity founded a club in the house of the Sokols in co-

operation with the Society of St. Aloysius. In 1900 it received the library of the archfraternity of young men under the patronage of the Most Holy Visage, which had dissolved at that time. Besides the home club, the fraternity organized, on the initiative of a member, Józef Mucha, a sport-club.

In 1908 the fraternity of St. Joseph celebrated very solemnly the silver jubilee of its existence. Since then it has been developing successfully without any important obstacles. The number of members has again reached 600 and the treasury contains more than $2,000. Besides this the fraternity owns a library of about 5,000 volumes, billiard tables, a player-piano, standards, a canopy and other religious objects, representing together a value of over $7,000. During the 34 years of its existence the chaplains of the fraternity were [9 names given]. During the same period the presidents were [9 names given]. The list of the members who have deserved recognition from the fraternity is a long one. Many of these are still occupied with its affairs, others have been separated from it by the duties of their positions or by their departure to other places, and some are only connected with the fraternity by sainted memories of the past. All of of them deserve the sincerest gratitude, and if the old books of the fraternity had not been burned during the fire in the school their names would shine today on the pages of this history. But the very fact that this living work . . will celebrate next year its 35th anniversary is a reward for its old workers. The present administration of the fraternity is composed as follows [27 names given].

Ibid., p. 109.

17. *The Citizens' Club of Thaddeus Kościusko.* [The title of club is misleading, as we shall see from the description of its activities]. On the initiative of the Very Reverend Priest Franciszek Gordon who was then rector of the parish, on April 7th, 1907, the Citizens' Club was founded by well-thinking parishioners. At that meeting Priest Gordon presided, Wincenty Jóźwiakowski was secretary, and 72 members joined the club. The first administration was composed as follows [15 names given].

The aim of the club is very elevated, *i. e.*, fraternal unity for the welfare of the members and common work for the de-

velopment of the parish by financial help through the organization of yearly banquets, bazaars, etc. Since its foundation a banquet, a picnic and a bazaar have been organized almost every year, and besides once a year the club arranges, exclusively for its members and their friends, a so-called smoker at which, in addition to a good repast, a program is presented.

Up to this moment our club has had 4 presidents [names quoted], 5 vice-presidents [names given], 2 protocol secretaries [names], 3 financial secretaries [names], 2 treasurers [names].

Through the efforts of its members the club organized the following picnics, banquets and bazaars from which the income was as follows: In 1907, a picnic in Brandt Park and in Cragin, $3,471.00; in 1908, New Year's banquet, $930.00; a banquet in May (dedication of the school), $553.00; and a picnic, $919.50; in 1909, banquet, $512.20, picnic, $1,118.76; in 1910, banquet, $410.75, picnic, $1,154.20; in 1911, banquet, $415.30; picnic, $1,202.90, bazaar, $7,047.02; in 1912, banquet, $267.00, picnic, $1,200.30, bazaar, $5,216.00; in 1913, banquet, $180.65, picnic, $484.30; in 1914, banquet, $378.50; in 1915, banquet, around $400; in 1916, banquet, $242.50; total net income from entertainments organized by the club alone, $26,103.98.

Besides, with the collaboration of the Ladies' Club of Queen Dąbrówka the following entertainments were organized: in 1914, picnic, $355.75, bazaar, $4,110.48; in 1915, picnic, $651.00, bazaar, $2,795.64; in 1916, picnic, $1,053.75, bazaar, $3,103.15; in 1917, banquet, $291.15, picnic, $1,350.00; total net income $13,710.87. . . .

Now the club counts 250 members. Its present administration is composed as follows [14 names].

Ibid., p. 131.

18. *Theater and Dramatic Circle.* The founder of the Dramatic Circle in the parish of St. Stanislaw was Priest Wincenty Barzyński of sainted memory. This happened in the following way. The patriotic organization then existing which had the aim of unifying all the associations in the parish for more efficient patriotic work arranged in 1891 a splendid 3 days' celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 in connection with the great national meeting in the former enormous hall of St. Stanisław. During this manifesta-

-ion a performance of the Defence of Częstochowa, an episode from "The Deluge" of Sienkiewicz arranged for the theater by Szczęsny Zahajkiewicz, was given. Volunteers from choirs and parochial associations were called to perform the particular rôles and the result was a great success. . . . This solemn opportunity gave birth to the Dramatic Circle, with the participation of the following amateurs [34 persons mentioned]. . . . The first administration was composed as follows [13 names given]. The purpose of the Circle was to spread the spirit of Polonism among the youth and the means was weekly evenings and theatrical representations in the maternal language.

The first great performance of the Circle after its formal establishment was on October 18, 1891, when for the first time the play of Zahajkiewicz, *The Children of Israel,* was given. The following year an unusual honor befell the Dramatic Circle. The most famous Polish dramatic artist and one of the foremost stars of the world's theater, Helena Modrzejewska [Modjeska] appeared twice on our stage together with the amateurs of the Dramatic Circle. The first time she played the rôle of Kogucina in the *Peasant Aristocrats* of Anczyc, in which participated [8 names given]. The second time she played the rôle of Queen Jadwiga in a dramatic presentation under the same title written especially for Modrzejewska by Zahajkiewicz and dedicated to her. Together with her appeared [14 persons mentioned]. The income from the first performance was offered by the artist to the Polish orphanage, that from the second to the parochial library. . . . Nearly 6,000 persons attended the performance. The enormous hall proved too small and many people had to resign the pleasure of admiring her. . . . [A number of other representations are described.]

Outside of the Dramatic Circle the Theater of Stanisławowo soon became the field of other activities and efforts to develop among our public better taste and higher theatrical judgment. In this respect the above mentioned S. Zahajkiewicz merited great recognition. He was the first theatrical manager in our Polonia. He trained the actors, wrote popular and Biblical plays especially appreciable by the local public, and thus aroused interest in the stage. After him Karol Wachtel introduced on the stage the serious Polish repertoire and made several attempts to or-

ganize a permanent Polish theater in Chicago—a stage-manager and actor who received his artistic education in the fatherland. He is above the amateur level and has managed the artistic side of the theatrical performances of various societies of Stanisławowo. Under his leadership a number of classical Polish dramas have been given on the stage of Stanisławowo. . . .

The theater of Stanisławowo is now the best Polish theater in Chicago and probably even in all American Polonia. It has therefore a good chance of becoming a permanent Polish theater, the great school of national virtues and the higher emotions.

Ibid., p. 136.

19. In addition to those quoted above the following associations and institutions are described and portrayed in the *Album:* The Parochial School, The Parish Committee, The Association of Altar-Boys, The Marshals of the Upper Church, The Marshals of the Lower Church, The Archsorority of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (2 groups), The Women of the Holy Rosary (4 groups), The Archbrotherhood of the Saints, The Third Order of St. Francis, The Choirs of the Upper Church, The Choirs of the Lower Church, The Club of Ladies of Queen Dąbrówka, The Society of the Alumni of the Parish School, The Musical and Literary Society of Leo XIII, The Needlework Club of St. Rose of Lima, The Polish Roman Catholic Union (central office), The Society of St. Cecilia (No. 14 of the Roman Catholic Union), The Society of King John III Sobieski under the patronage of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, Queen of the Polish Crown (No. 16 of the R. C. Union), The Society of the Most Holy Name of Mary (No. 2 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Stanisław the Bishop (No. 31 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Walenty (No. 847 of the R. C. Union), The Society of the Heart of Jesus (No. 32 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Stefan (No. 318 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Nicholas (No. 42 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of God's Mother of Częstochowa (No. 53 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Priest Wincenty Barzyński (No. 91 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Cecilia (No. 219 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Bernard the Abbot (No. 329 of

the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Andrew the Apostle (No. 233 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Agnes (No. 256 of the R. C. Union), The Society of the Polish Crown (No. 296 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Lucia (No. 378 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Anna (No. 480 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Apolonia (No. 482 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Helena (No. 924 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of Queen Wanda (No. 525 of the R. C. Union), The Polish Alma Mater (central office), The Branch of St. Kazimierz the King's Son (No. 1 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Kinga (No. 12 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Monica (No. 23 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Clara (No. 26 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Cecilia (No. 92 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Joseph (No. 49 of the Alma Mater), The Court of Pułaski (No. 482 of the Union of Catholic Foresters), The Court of God's Mother of Good Advice (No. 91 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Vincent of Ferrara (No. 174 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Stanisław Kostka (No. 255 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of Priest Barzyński (No. 995 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Walenty (No. 1,001 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Irene (No. 445 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of Frederic Chopin (No. 1,391 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. John (No. 864 of Catholic Foresters). The Court of Leo XIII (No. [?] of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Martin the Pope (No. 1,143 of the Catholic Foresters), The Society of the Guardianship of St. Joseph (Group 115 of the Polish Association in America), The Society of St. George the Martyr (No. 96 of the Polish Association), The Society of St. Roch (Group 71 of the Polish Association), The Society of St. John of Nepomuk (Group 26 of the Polish Association), The Society of the Heart of Jesus (Group 124 of the Polish Association), The Society of Pearl of Mary (Group 152 of the Polish Association), The Society of St. Wojciech (Group 104 of the Polish Association), The Society of Young Men of St. Kazimierz (independent mutual help association), The Society of Ladies of Queen Jadwiga (mutual help association), The Loan and Savings Association of St.

Joseph No. 3, The Building Loan and Savings Association of Pułaski, The Building Loan and Savings Association of St. Francis, The Press Committee, The College of St. Stanisław Kostka, The Novices Convent of the Resurrectionists, The Convent of the Sisters of St. Francis, The Chicago *Daily News* (Polish)—74 in all.

Five parishes which were established on the territory originally included in the parish of St. Stanisław are also briefly described.

Not a single association belonging to the Polish National Alliance is mentioned although in less conservative parishes these associations are treated in a more or less friendly way by the parish leaders.

Biographies of Prominent Families Belonging to the Parish (with pictures)

20. Jan and Konstancya Czekała. Jan Czekała was born in Rosko, Duchy of Posen, in 1861. He came with his parents to America in 1868, to Chicago in 1872. He attended the school at St. Stanisław. He was nominated member of The Parish Committee by Priest Barzyński in 1896 and belongs to this Committee up to the present day. He was alderman of the 16th ward of the city of Chicago in 1911-1912. He is president of the Society of St. Cecilia, president of the Pułaski Building Association and belongs to the Parish Choir and to the Dramatic Circle. At the last diet of the Polish Roman Catholic Union he was elected director for 4 years. Now he occupies the office of Custodian of the County Hall. Konstancya Czekała, born to the Soliński family in 1875 in the town of Gąsawa, Duchy of Posen, came to America in 1893 and married in 1899. Her family consists of 2 daughters and 4 sons. She belongs to the Society of Polish Women of Queen Jadwiga, of which she is the president, to that of St. Apolonia (No. 482 of the R. C. Union), of which she is charter member and president. She is also the president of the Club of Ladies of Queen Dąbrówka and of The Society of St. Cecilia (No. 92 of the Polish Alma Mater).

Ibid., p. 84.

21. Jan and Agnieszka Nering. Jan Nering was born in 1871 in Szonowo, West Prussia. His parents emigrated to the

United States a year later and settled in the parish of St. Stanisław, to which they belong even now. He is a pupil of the school of St. Stanisław and up to this moment has always actively participated in the affairs of various societies and of the parish. Conditions forced him early to help his parents and already in his 13th year he was employed by the telegraph company to carry telegrams. He has been connected with this business up to the present time and is now the head manager of the Chicago office of the Postal Telegraph and Cable Co., and employs many Poles. He is a member of the following associations: The Parish Committee of St. Stanisław (since 1899), The Parish Choir of the Upper Church, The Dramatic Circle, The Kościuszko Club, The St. Kazimierz Branch of the Polish Alma Mater, The St. Cecilia Society of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, The Sherman Court of the Order of Catholic Foresters, The General James Shields Council of the Knights of Columbus, The Society of Young Men of St. Kazimierz. Mr. and Mrs. Nering were married in the Church of the Holy Trinity in 1898 but belong to the parish of St. Stanisław.

Mrs. Agnieszka Nering (neé Wojtalewicz) was born in Chicago, educated in the parish of The Holy Trinity, and a pupil of the Academy of the Most Holy Family. From her early youth she loved religious and national song, and in 1909 finished with honors the Chicago College of Music and received the diploma of singing-teacher and the highest reward of a diamond medal. She continued her studies in music and singing in Europe, in Berlin, where for two years and a half she studied under the guidance of Mme. Schoen-Rene, Mme. Bellincioni and Mme. Lola Beeth. She was offered good positions by the opera companies of Warsaw and Posen. But not wanting to be any longer away from her family, she preferred to return to Chicago and occupied herself with helping our young Polish girls in studying singing. She has now a successful school for singing in her residence, 2201 Cortez Street [the school is described in detail elsewhere in the *Album*]. Mrs. Nering is well-known by her public appearance not only in Chicago but in all the larger cities of this country where Poles live. She took and takes an active part in all national affairs, particularly in charitable in-

stitutions. She is a member of the following associations: The Parish Choir of St. Stanisław's Upper Church, The Dramatic Circle, The Club of Ladies of Queen Dąbrówka, The Branch of St. Kinga of the Polish Alma Mater, The Society of St. Apolonia of the Roman Catholic Union, The Sorority of the Holy Rosary, The Ladies' Society for Educational Help in connection with the Academy of the Most Holy Family, The Society of Protectresses of the Hospital, The Society of Protectors of the Orphanage of the Resurrection of Our Lord, The Royal Neighbors (Jefferson Park Camp), and The Chicago Musical Arts Society.

Ibid., p. 85.

22. The family of Wojciech and Michalina Grabarski. Citizen Wojciech Grabarski was born in 1862 in Kcynia, Duchy of Posen. He attended the public school in Kcynia and came to America when 13 years old. From New York he went to Buffalo where he spent about 2 years. Thence he came to Chicago and studied in evening school here whenever time permitted him. In 1884 he married Miss Michalina Ratkowska, sister of the well-known contractor Paweł Ratkowski.

In 1886 Citizen Grabarski established a grocery in connection with a butcher-shop at 1354 Noble Street, where for 20 years he had a splendid business. Somewhat later he closed the butcher-shop and opened instead a liquor-shop. At the same time he bought the funeral establishment of the late August Jeszcze situated on Noble Street. After some time he sold first the grocery and later still he got rid of the saloon and gave himself entirely to the work in the funeral establishment which is now situated at 1322 Cleaver Street, in a specially constructed house, equipped with all the modern devices connected with the funeral business. Coffins can be bought at every price from the lowest to the highest. Coaches and automobiles can be hired for all occasions. The service is polite and quick. Calls are attended to at all times, day and night. Telephone Monroe 1048.

God has blessed their marriage with 11 children, 6 of whom are alive, 3 sons and 3 daughters, namely, Wanda, Apolonia, Józef, Marya, Edward and Artur. Wanda married Edward Trandel, and Apolonia Nikodem Budzban.

Ibid., p. 241.

[In addition to these biographies and in a similar style, 78 families and 86 individuals are described. The titles to prominence seem to be intense social activity, successful business, participation in American political life, intellectual distinction, particularly faithful attendance to parochial duties, very long residence in the parish, numerous and prosperous children. There are, however, many cases in which the biography seems to be little more than a paid advertisement. There are, of course, also numerous business advertisements of the usual kind included in the *Album*. We must realize that the expense of the *Album* had to be borne by the parishioners themselves and that probably every one whose life history and portrait appears in it was expected to contribute, so that the difference between a plain advertisement and a biography is only one of degree. This probably does not apply to the biographies of priests, of which there are 29 in the *Album*. In addition to the separate biographies there are, of course, many personal data included in the histories of institutions.]

23. *Statistics of the parish of St. Stanisław.* A record of the changes in the population of the parish has been kept consistently since 1869, when the parish included 235 families. In order to appreciate the statistics quoted below we must remember that every few years since 1872 the parish of St. Stanisław has lost a part of its population by the formation of other parishes on what was formerly its territory. These statistics have been compiled from the parish record printed in the *Album*.

Year	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1869	6	17	——
1870	30	164	——
1871	39	174	3
1872	49	328	1
1873	74	466	——
1874	57	468	11
1875	83	533	19
1876	85	538	294
1877	57	513	142
1878	64	498	171
1879	121	517	227

Year	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1880	76	626	371
1881	169	978	1068
1882	256	1208	682
1883	274	1258	492
1884	250	1378	714
1885	248	1404	589
1886	289	1565	833
1887	373	1760	736
1888	330	1878	808

We need not continue these statistics which during the last 20 years have kept approximately the same as the average of the years 1882-1888. We see how rapidly marriage, birth and death begin to play an important, perhaps even a predominant part in the growth of a Polish-American colony. The low death rate in the beginning and its sudden increase after a few years are explicable on the supposition, which we find verified in every particular case, that most of the first immigrants in a new colony are relatively young people, without small children or old parents and that only after some years they decided to bring their families or to marry. But even later the average death-rate is much lower than the birth-rate, so that even when immigration is stopped the colony is sure to grow very rapidly. The total number of births registered in the parish of St. Stanisław during 47 years (1869-1916) was 59,551, the total number of deaths during the same period 24,401. Thus the parish of St. Stanisław, whose population during this time averaged about 25,000, contributed a net increase of over 35,000 to the Polish colony of Chicago.

24. [Extracts from a history of the parish of New Britain, Conn., published in 1902, are here quoted to illustrate the organization of a small and relatively new community. The history was written by the priest Rev. Lucyan Bójnowski and therefore the appreciation of the dissenting elements of the community is probably not quite impartial.]

The first Pole who came to New Britain was Mr. Tomasz Ostrowski. After him others began to arrive and in September, 1889, a mutual help society under the patronage of St. Michael the Archangel was established. [All the officers enu-

merated.] . . . In 1894 Priest Dr. Misicki, rector of the parish in Meriden, Conn., came every Sunday to celebrate the holy mass in New Britain in the old Irish church on Myrtle St., at a yearly salary of $500. Then the society, together with other noble-minded Poles, began to think about establishing a Polish parish, which was organized under the patronage of St. Kazimierz. [The Parish Council enumerated.] . . . During this organization great misunderstandings arose. The cause was that the parishioners were scattered over the whole town and some of them had houses and lots on the opposite limits of the town. Each of the latter wished to organize a party so as to control the votes and make the majority agree to buy the lot for the church in his part of the city. At parochial meetings, in saloons, on the streets and in private houses they clamored that they cared only for the prosperity of the parish, whereas only their own business was involved. Two parties arose and struggled to the last. Rev. Dr. Misicki could not reconcile them and when he bought a lot on Grove Street the other side resorted to radical methods, bought another lot on Chestnut Street, and when the other party would not agree to their demands brought a pseudo-priest in the person of the organist Stefan Kamiński, who celebrated the divine service for them in a hall on Church Street. Thus arose an independent church which did not recognize the authority of the bishop and of the Pope.

In September, 1895, Rev. Lucyan Bójnowski from the province of Grodno (Poland under Russian domination) was appointed rector of the parish. . . . After his arrival God so happily managed the affairs of the parish that Stefan Kamiński soon stopped making a disturbance and left New Britain. The place on Grove Street, as unfit for a church, was sold by lottery. The lot on Chestnut Street was kept by the adherents of an independent church, thirty members of which were still left. The good parishioners came together at a meeting October 13, 1895, and decided to buy a new lot on Orange Street and there to build a wooden church under the patronage of the Sweetest Heart of Jesus. Then the independents fell and with them fell the Society of St. Michael the Archangel, which was abandoned by all the good ones and preserved only a dozen members.

Since 1894 there had existed in the parish a Society of St. Kazimierz or "Legion of Free Krakuses" which carried on an obstinate struggle with the Society of St. Michael. [Officers enumerated.] When the latter fell they thought they were the masters of the situation and began to show what they were. Their leaders openly opposed the rector saying that they did not care for the Pope, the bishop or the rector. . . . Since then the members who had the real faith in Our Lord God immediately left this society or decided in their hearts to do so at the first opportunity. . . .

[Consecration of the church described at length.] When the church was built and consecrated Priest Rector Lucyan Bójnowski occupied himself with introducing order into the parish. First of all he made efforts to turn the people from drink, from getting married in court, from indecent dress, from holding balls on Saturdays and nightly revelries, from playing cards, loafing in saloons, fighting in their homes, immoral life, conjugal infidelity, theft, bad education of children, indecent behavior on the street, and disorderly conduct at weddings and christenings. Instead, he encouraged them to go to confession and communion, to participate in various divine services, to belong to fraternities, etc. [Detailed weekly and yearly schedule of religious services given.]

[There follows a biographical list of all the vicars who worked in the parish and a long story of the trouble with one of these vicars whom the opponents of Priest Bójnowski wished to make rector in his place.] Although the trouble did not entirely cease (probably it will never stop because, such is the will of God, the tares must grow with the wheat until the time of harvesting), the real Catholic Poles are preparing to dedicate a new stone church which is almost ready. . . .

[A brief history of 9 parochial societies is given in addition to the 2 following ones which are not a part of the parochial system.] October 8, 1900, a Polish political club was formed . . . to defend with the common strength the civil and political rights of the Poles. [Officers named.] Later this club changed its name to Polish Citizens' Club. October 5, 1900, "The Polish Political Club No. 1 and Society of Mutual Help" was organized. This club breaks the laws of God, for it holds drunken balls,

has revelries even on Sunday, not only in houses but even in gardens, and some of its members show a hostile attitude toward the Catholic Church and the clergy.

[Activities of the priest in New Britain and the neighboring localities described.] *Conversions.* From 1896 to 1902 Priest Bójnowski converted to the Roman Catholic faith 1 Jew, 1 Jewish woman, 4 Protestants, 2 members of the Old Russian Church and 22 Greek Orthodox Russians, but in spite of all his teachings and efforts he has not yet succeeded in converting even one perverted Catholic Pole. . . .

From all the troubles related above the reader might believe that the people in New Britain are very bad. This is not so. The people in New Britain, who come for the most part from Russian Poland, some from Galicia, the smallest number from under German domination, have been up to the moment when this history is being written very virtuous, religious, moral, generous, hard-working, saving, polite—in a word, it is difficult to find another parish in all America where there is so much fear of God. But there are a few sons of perversity who cannot bear this and use all kinds of intrigues in order to draw the others away from the true road.

[Among other details concerning the development of the parish there is an enumeration of all the persons and associations who, in addition to their regular contributions, have offered $20 or more for the parish. The largest contributions, some exceeding $1,000 a year, are given anonymously. In all probability they were offered by the priest himself from his salary and fees.]

25. [The condition of the parish of New Britain in 1919, according to a private letter from Priest Bójnowski.]

1) The old church now contains school-rooms and the rectorate. It is worth $25,000.

2) The new church (the largest in New Britain) cost $150,000 when built and is worth now $300,000.

3) The new school was built in 1904 at the cost of $150,000. It is now worth twice as much.

4) A house for the teaching nuns is worth $15,000.

5) The parish has a cemetery worth $25,000.

There are no debts on all of these buildings and lots.

6) In 1889 a cooperative bakery was established with an original capital of $6,000 contributed by 5 associations. At present its property is worth $60,000.

7) In 1904 a Polish orphanage was founded. It owns now 4 houses, 146 acres within the limits of the town, 107 acres outside the limits, 30 head of cattle, 7 horses, 70 hogs, 500 hens; total value over $200,000. No debts.

8) There is a parochial printing office. The lot, the building and the machinery are worth $35,000. There is a debt of $5,000.

9) The Polish Loan and Industrial Corporation, founded in 1915, has a capitalization of $50,000 and owns $45,000 worth of houses.

10) The Polish Investment and Loan Corporation, founded in 1915, has a capitalization of $75,000 and real estate worth $10,000.

11) The People's Savings Bank, founded in December, 1916, has $496,000 deposited.

12) The New Britain Clothing Corporation, founded in 1919, capitalized at $50,000, has merchandise worth $100,000 and real estate worth $140,000.

13) The White Eagle Factory, established in 1919, capitalized at $25,000, produces cutlery.

[All of the above are cooperative organizations.]

14) We gave 750 soldiers to the American army and 301 to the Polish army.

15) We have contributed to the Polish Relief Fund and to the Polish Army Fund up to this moment $110,672.36.

16) The parish counts now nearly 9,000 souls, including children. In 1894 there were only 700, counting Lithuanians, Slovaks and Poles.

17) The parochial school has 35 teachers and an attendance of 1736 children.

CHAPTER III

THE SUPER-TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF POLISH-AMERICAN SOCIETY

Attempts to unify all the Polish colonies in America into one social body began nearly 50 years ago. Thus in 1873 Priest Gieryk of Detroit planned some kind of super-territorial institution in which the representatives of various colonies would meet and manage the common affairs of the American Poles. But this plan, though later supported by one of the best Polish-American organizers, Priest W. Barzynski, failed completely. The failure was inevitable, for the organization began as a vague association of priests, who as such represented their respective parishes. It meant thus implicitly the use of the parish system as a basis of the super-territorial system. But the parish is, as we have seen, essentially a territorial institution with all its activities concentrated upon the local Polish-American group. There are hardly any practical interests common to all the Polish parishes in this country, and a super-territorial organization with the parish as the unit would have nothing to do. Priest Barzynski in spite of all his ability and influence could not even induce all of the parishes in Chicago to form one social body; their solidarity has never gone beyond cooperation in a few public manifestations of a national character.

It even proved impossible to create a formal super-territorial organization of all the official leaders of parishes, *i. e.,* the Polish-American clergy, for the latter be-

longed to many different dioceses and did not constitute any one unit of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The aim of the Order of the Resurrectionists, which from the beginning played a very important part in Polish-American life, seems to have been precisely to create a unified body of Polish clergy outside of the administrative Catholic hierarchy of America by placing members of the Order at the head of all Polish-American parishes, which would thus remain under the control of one Polish religious institution. But the number of Polish-American parishes grew so rapidly that the Order could furnish only a small minority of the priests who were needed. And probably, in spite of the relatively high intellectual and moral level of the Resurrectionists, the American Catholic clergy opposed the growth of the Order as a foreign organization primarily dependent on its superiors in Rome and only secondarily on the local bishops. The manifest theocratic tendencies of the Order further developed a strong reaction against it among the American Poles themselves, and the lay Polish priests who came to this country also resented the control of the half-monastic institution. Though the Order still preserves a strong moral and intellectual influence due to the definiteness of its purpose, to the high education of its leading members, and to the "pull" it has at the Vatican, it has failed to achieve a unification of the Polish-American clergy. A free organization recently founded (in 1910) on the initiative of Bishop P. Rhode, under the name Alliance of Polish Priests, can hardly fulfil this task.

There is, of course, some unity among the Polish-American parish leaders but it is only informal, manifested by occasional meetings and by the existence of a few institutions—seminaries, schools for teaching nuns,

publications—which are in a sense common to all the parishes simply because they produce religious or educational values which every parish needs. But this informal unity does not actually produce any conscious social cohesion in the Poles. It gives perhaps a certain general uniformity to the policy of the Polish-American priests and of those lay leaders who serve the interests of the clergy, but this is not enough to make one social body of the various separate colonies which the individual members of the clergy respectively try to control.

The real super-territorial organization of the American Poles is based not upon the parish but upon the local *association.* For although the association is included within the territorial community and serves its interests, it may be able to cooperate for certain purposes with analogous associations existing in other communities. While the only real aim of the parish, like that of every primary-group, is its own existence as a coherent social body, the association has definite objective aims—economic, hedonistic, political, religious, æsthetic, intellectual—which often may be little more than the pretext for associating but are a necessary pretext and open the way for participation of the association in wider organizations of the secondary-group type.

The first consistent and fairly successful attempt to construct a super-territorial Polish-American system with the local association as a unit was made by the founders of the Polish National Alliance in 1880.[1] Following this example several other organizations were established, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Alliance of Polish Socialists, the Women's Alliance, the Sokols, the Alliance of Polish Troops, the Polish Alma

[1] The Alliance at first intended to include parishes but since no parish joined, it developed exclusively as a system of associations.

Mater, the Association of Poles in America, the Polish Union, etc. These organizations had originally and in some measure still have divergent or even conflicting purposes. We shall study this question presently. But it is a striking fact that whatever differences there are between, for instance, the National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union as super-territorial institutions, they affect but little the character of their social units, the local associations of which they are respectively composed. Almost any association might be bodily transferred from one super-territorial institution to another without undergoing really essential changes of its social organization, by merely modifying its political attitude and its slogans and, in a few cases, by adding some new activity to its other activities—for instance, by starting a military drill if it wishes to join the Polish Troops. Further, if we follow the history of various local associations belonging to these super-territorial institutions we notice that, however widely different might have been originally the special aims—religious, educational, economic, artistic, political, hedonistic—for which many of these associations were founded, all of them have gradually converged into one essential type and almost every new association which is started now becomes moulded at once into the same general form. The latter fact may be due to lack of inventiveness resulting from the scarcity of prominent leaders; but it is clear that since of all the models of organizations which were tried during the last fifty years this one model alone survived and developed, whereas all others have either disappeared or exist in some large colonies only because of the continuous efforts of a few intellectuals, it must have been best adapted to the conditions under which the Polish-American social body was created. We shall

therefore study these typical social units before we pass to investigate the wider organizations constructed on their basis.

No absolute line of division can be drawn between associations belonging to the parish system and those which are part of the super-territorial system. In general we can distinguish four classes of associations, *i. e.,* those called by the Poles "parochial" in the strict sense of the term, whose main formal purpose is either religious worship or cooperation with the priest and the parochial committee in fostering the development of the parish, those which belong neither to the parish system nor to the super-territorial system, those which belong in varying proportions to both the parish system and the super-territorial system and are interested in the growth of the parish as well as in nation-wide activities, finally those which stand in a more or less distinct opposition to the control of the community by the parish leaders and to which a connection with some wider organization gives a stronger position and prestige.

We have quoted in the preceding chapter examples taken from the first class. Into the second class many associations can be put during the first period of their existence but very few remain permanently in this class, for usually sooner or later they either begin to cooperate with a parish or join a super-territorial organization, or both. The free and isolated local association was, of course, originally the matrix of both the parish system—even now, as we have seen, every new parish is established on the initiative of a free local association —and of the super-territorial system, for all the wider organizations arose through an expansion or federation of pre-existing isolated local associations. But the independent association only imperfectly realizes the now

prevailing type and loses its importance with the progress of Polish-American social life. The type which we have to study now is much better manifested in associations of the third class and attains its full development in those of the fourth class which, since they cannot rely on the help of the parish leaders and on the assistance of the parish framework, must develop their own possibilities to the utmost.

Whatever may be the variety of their political, social and religious tendencies, all local associations which belong to the super-territorial system—we shall call them "local groups" (following the terminology of the Polish National Alliance) whenever we shall have to distinguish them from "parochial associations"—have one official purpose in common, the preservation of Polish nationality among their members.

This does not involve primarily any definite attitude toward the question of political allegiance, of "patriotism" in the proper sense of the term. In this respect there is a very marked difference between Polish local associations (of whatever type) in this country and the associations formed since 1831 by Polish emigrants in European countries. The latter, whose members, or at least whose organizers and leaders, were political emigrants always had a political purpose, even if they did not belong to wider organizations; and this purpose usually was in some way connected with Poland's struggle for independence, and in any case the association was meant to help its members preserve intact their political allegiance to Poland. Even if it did not actively try to prevent them from developing a patriotic feeling toward the country in which they lived (and most of the associations formed by Polish emigrants in Russia and Germany naturally did this) it ignored entirely the po-

litical interests of the "land of exile," unless these interests seemed to favor the reestablishment of Poland's independence; thence the faithful services which Polish emigrants always rendered to France.

Many Polish local groups at first try to keep in America this tradition of exclusive political allegiance to Poland. But the character of Polish immigration in this country, entirely different from the Polish immigrant colonies in Europe, sooner or later frustrates these attempts. The great majority of the immigrants here are not "exiles" living in worse conditions than they were accustomed to in their home country. Though they have been indirectly forced to emigrate by the disastrous effects of foreign domination in Poland, each of them individually came here to improve his economic situation, and at least 90 per cent. could have returned if they had wished without taking any risks of life or liberty. Thus those emotional attitudes of home-sickness which kept the interests of the political immigrant continually centered upon Poland have much less motive power with the economic emigrant. Besides, the level of education of the great majority of the members of local groups, even though on the average better than that of unorganized immigrants or even of the members of parochial associations, is still relatively low, so that abstract ideas, without which political patriotism cannot be developed, do not appeal to their emotions strongly enough. Moreover, most of them had never consciously participated in Polish national life in the old country and therefore the concept of Poland as organized nation lacks for them that practical definiteness and vitality which it possesses for those who had been dealing with problems of national organization at home. For all these reasons it is hardly surprising that

in spite of the continual use of patriotic Polish slogans by all local groups Poland is for them mainly the object of an almost purely æsthetic interest whose motive power is very small as compared with the many and complex practical interests connected with the immediate social environment. The war brought the Polish national problem for the first time with real vividness to the consciousness of the Polish-American masses by affecting directly all their relatives and friends in the old country and thus making clear the connection between the general national situation and private life, and also—as we shall see later—by giving an unprecedented vitality to the problem of Poland's independence. But the emotional outburst thus produced is already subsiding.

An interesting proof of the superficial character which Polish patriotism, however emphatically proclaimed, had until lately among the large mass of the immigrants is the example of those military associations which were formed here under the name of Polish Troops. The original idea was to have a miltary force ready to join a national revolution. Meanwhile the associations soon drifted to the common, very peaceful type and their military character showed itself exclusively in parading in uniforms with sabres at all kinds of religious solemnities and national celebrations. When in 1912 the Polish army under General Haller was being formed these associations did not, of course, remain untouched by the popular enthusiasm and many of their individual members joined the army; but though somewhat diminished, the associations were not disbanded and none of them went as a body to Haller. They continue to parade at meetings and festivals and to pursue their habitual, peaceful activities.

This weakness in the Polish patriotic tendencies of the average local association is by no means the result of a conflict between Polish and American patriotism, but simply due to the insufficient development of all wider political aspirations. The bearer of such aspirations is the super-territorial organization as a whole, not the particular social units of which it is composed. Of course, if these units were entirely devoid of all interests beyond those connected with their immediate milieu the super-territorial organization could not have any political significance either. The fact is that in each particular local group the wider political aspirations are not strong enough as compared with the immediate local interests to produce spontaneously any important actions, but they are not lacking entirely, and the super-territorial organization concentrating those scattered tendencies and giving them a common aim may achieve results which the local groups acting separately would never reach. This is simply one of the many illustrations of the well-known truth that an organized social group is something different than a mere sum of its parts. We shall see, however, that gradually even the most "idealistic" super-territorial organizations tend to reconcile their wider aims with the more popular and stronger, though narrower, purposes of their social units. The Polish-American national consciousness as distinct from the purely Polish is the result of this reconciliation.

The nationalistic Polish tendencies of the local associations have thus not a political, but a racial significance. Their aim is to preserve the cultural stock brought by the immigrants to this country—language, mores, customs, historical traditions—so as to maintain the racial solidarity of the Poles as of the same ethnic

group, independent of their political allegiance and of any economic, social, political bonds which may connect each of them individually with their American milieu. The local group does not pretend to cut its members off from their wider social environment, to concentrate all their interests within any territorially limited Polish colony. On the contrary, it seems to endorse in the form of social recognition any activities by which its members participate in American economic, political or intellectual life, and seems proud of whatever recognition they may obtain in American circles. But it presupposes that each member personally appreciates most and is most dependent upon the recognition he gets from his Polish milieu, and particularly that he desires social *response* exclusively from Poles. He is never permitted to put into his relations with Americans the same warmth and immediacy of social feelings as in his relations with Poles; the former are expected to be entirely *impersonal,* institutional (if we may use this term), whereas all purely personal contacts must be limited to his own *gens.* This distinction can be best expressed by saying that the only primary-group connections a Pole is supposed to maintain are those which his racial group offers, whereas his relations with racially different social elements must belong exclusively to the secondary-group type. The psychology is similar to that of a family or an old village community in contact with modern and more complex forms of social organization; a member of such a primary group may be active outside of it as much as he wishes, may be a link of numerous economic, political, cultural relations of which the primary-group knows little and in which it does not participate, but all the while he is supposed to remain essentially, as a concrete

person, a member of this primary-group and no other, and whatever he does outside of it he is meant to do *as* member of this family or this community, not as isolated personality. In the same way the American Pole is permitted to take whatever part he desires in American life provided he does it *as a Pole,* and the only forms of participation which are socially condemned are those which tend to incorporate him into American primary-groups and to draw him away from his Polish *gens*—that is, marriage, personal friendship and all kinds of intercourse implying direct personal solidarity.

The local group is the institution whose function with reference to its members consists precisely in strengthening this type of racial solidarity against possible disorganization in a racially different milieu. The association gives the individual in ready form opportunities to satisfy both his desire for recognition and his desire for response. It is small enough to permit every individual to know every other individual, to be interested in the affairs of others and to provoke their interest in his own affairs. It is large enough to make the individual feel its recognition or lack of recognition as an important matter. It is sufficiently solidary for its opinion to have unity and weight, and at the same time sufficiently loose not to be oppressive, not to provoke any violent revolt.

In accordance with its function its main internal activities are those which from the standpoint of purely objective results would seem either subordinate to other aims or simply incidental—formal meetings and social entertainments. The significance of the formal meeting is not in any way exhausted by the affairs which the group discusses and settles. With regard to its psychological effects its most important part is the actual,

direct social connection which is established between the members by the very fact of their being together and discussing. The parliamentary formalism which is scrupulously observed at all regular meetings of Polish societies plays also a much more important social rôle than that of a mere practical method of efficient deliberation and speedy conclusion. It is for the consciousness of the average member almost equivalent to a ritual; it gives the meeting something of the solemnity of a religious performance, and it is interesting to note, for instance, how impressed the uneducated or half-educated participants are by the very terminology of parliamentarism. Moreover, most local groups have an explicit, though simple, esoteric ritual—probably imitated from the Másonic lodges—signs and words of recognition, etc. The influence of these "mysteries" on social solidarity is well known from the history of secret societies. Further, the elections of officers and of special committees give ample food to the desire for recognition. Finally, every meeting gives an opportunity for the informal exchange of personal facts and impressions, and widens the common "universe of discourse" of the members. As social entertainments, their rôle is very clear; by bringing individuals together on the ground of common pleasure and in a mood of heightened susceptibility to positive impressions, they act as powerful stimulants of social response, particularly among less educated individuals, most of whom are still strongly imbued with the primary-group spirit of the old peasant community. The emphasis both at formal meetings and at social entertainments put upon national matters helps maintain the spirit of racial solidarity. Thus meetings are always conducted and speeches made in Polish. Most of the local associations and all super-

territorial organizations have clauses in their constitutions by which this point is settled once and for ever. At social entertainments, of course, no formal restrictions as to language are made and English is often spoken along with Polish, particularly by those members of the young generation who have been educated in American schools. But most of those entertainments which local associations organize have in view some official purpose—which, of course, is often no more than a pretext—and are meant to bring money in for the benefit of a Polish institution or for a national Polish aim, and thus the national idea is always present.

Great importance from the standpoint of national, or rather racial preservation, must be also given to the rôle which Polish music and literature play in the social life of these associations. We notice how many of them naïvely report that all their entertainments are accompanied by "a program," meaning music, songs, recitals, speeches—less often lectures—and these are almost exclusively Polish and often contain a powerful appeal to national emotions, since the national idea has played a predominant rôle in all Polish art of the last 120 years. And since, if we except moving pictures and some religious art (the latter also connected with old country associations) nearly all the æsthetic experiences of the immigrant are given to him by the associations to which he belongs, in so far as his attitudes are fashioned by æsthetic factors they are also determined in accordance with the traditions of his race. The Poles not only know this and consciously tend to increase the intensity of æsthetic life in their colonies but are inclined to exaggerate its importance for racial preservation, so that the formation of a musical band or the organization of

a theatrical representation are counted as acts of high merit.

However the purpose of racial preservation, so emphatically put forward by all local groups in their public expressions, is in fact not a sufficient basis of organization. The political, educational, æsthetic, hedonistic aims which it implies, however necessary they may be to make an existing association fully satisfactory to its members, have in most cases proved insufficient to maintain a "society" regularly active for any longer period of time. On the level of culture which characterizes the great majority of Polish immigrants only religious and economic interests are strong and general enough to give a stable framework for voluntary association. The former have become the foundation of the parish system; the super-territorial system had to base itself on the latter. But there is no better proof of the need of the Polish immigrants to associate and of their ability to organize than the very superficiality and narrowness of this economic basis upon which their whole super-territorial organization rests, for up to the present the economic cooperation inside the local groups and inside the great associations of which these groups are the units has been almost exclusively limited to the old field of mutual life and health insurance.

The latter has, indeed, made considerable progress during the last fifty years. Its origin can be traced to church fraternities, which since the Middle Ages have collected funds for the funerals of their members and occasionally also for help in sickness. In this country under the combined influence of the remnants of the old primary-group solidarity and of the new social and economic conditions, the funeral fund has become a life insurance fund intended to help the remaining family not

only in carrying the expenses of the funeral but also in dealing with any economic difficulties which may arise during the first few months or years following the death of the provider. At first mutual life insurance and health insurance were carried on simultaneously in a rather primitive way. There were no regular contributions except those for administrative expenses; in the case of death or sickness of a member every other member had to contribute a definite sum. Later a mixed system developed; there was a certain regular contribution toward a permanent treasury out of which the sickness money (varying according to the actual need) and a part of the death insurance were paid, but the main amount of the latter was still composed of special contributions raised when the death occurred. The last stage is reached when the amount of insurance is always fixed in advance; each member contributes a regular quota to the fund and the entire insurance money is paid out of this fund. The association reserves only the right to impose special contributions in case its treasury should be exhausted.

We find all these systems existing side by side in various Polish-American associations; many parochial societies carry no insurance proper but limit their assistance to the funeral expenses of their members, and in almost all of the isolated associations special contributions from case to case remain the prevalent, if not the only way of raising the insurance fund. The super-territorial organizations have all reached the last stage, take regular contributions and insure their members for definite amounts up to $1,000. They are, of course, better able to carry the risk of regular life insurance than small local associations, and therefore when the members of the latter rise to a higher economic level and de-

velop greater demands of economic security they are almost always led to join one of the super-territorial institutions, even independently of the social advantages which the latter offer. However, the local association is never entirely absorbed economically in the super-territorial organization but preserves some independent functions of its own; it handles the matter of assistance in sickness to which the highly centralized large organization cannot efficiently attend, and in case of death it gives immediate help for funeral expenses, which is often much appreciated, since there must be some delay before the life insurance is paid.

At first sight it is a rather baffling question how such a limited economic interest—limited both qualitatively and quantitatively—can serve as material foundation for such an important social structure as the super-territorial Polish-American system, and even intelligent Poles, particularly the socialists and the Sokols (who permit mutual insurance but do not consider it essential for their organizations), are inclined to regard with scorn the "benefit" principle. However, it should be realized that the function of this business side of Polish-American institutions is not to create a bond between the members—the real bond is the satisfaction of the "social instinct"—but only to stabilize and extend a social cohesion which otherwise would manifest itself only irregularly and within narrower limits. In a word, mutual insurance is not a basis of *association* but of *organization*. It gives a minimum of rational order to those social relations which are the essential factor of the racial cohesion of American Poles. It introduces a regularity and continuity into the successive meetings, gives a definite purpose for each meeting, calls for a certain division of work, prevents up to certain limits

personal disagreements from breaking up the association, and counteracts very efficiently individual indifference and anarchy, since a member cannot cease to participate even temporarily in the association without losing all his rights and thereby also all the contributions which he has already paid. The desire to increase the amount or the security of insurance by inducing the members to recruit new adherents is one of the factors of the growth of existing and the foundation of new associations. In unifying different local groups into one system the insurance business is a permanent connecting link which bridges over periods when the super-territorial institution does not do anything definite that would call for the collaboration of its local units. Finally, the common insurance fund gives the organization a certain minimum of financial power—permits it, for instance, to pay its officials and own the building where its offices are, whereas a purely political, cultural or philanthropic institution has to rely for these necessaries upon uncertain, extraordinary contributions derived from collections, public appeals, parties, balls, entertainments, etc. The habit of paying appreciable regular dues once acquired by the members also allows the organization to impose small additional taxes for special aims without these taxes being felt as a burden.

The fact that mutual insurance has come to perform among the American Poles a social function out of all proportion to its economic significance is probably due to its very simplicity and to the small risks which it involves on the part of the individual. The immigrants were not sufficiently prepared to start at once economic cooperation on a wider scale or to grasp the more complex problems of economic solidarity, particularly as the intensity of American business life sets

a very fast pace for cooperative institutions, which must struggle hard in order to maintain themselves against the competition of individual enterprise. The scarcity of intelligent leaders, the economic dependence of Polish colonies on their American milieu and the lack of accumulated wealth contributed for many years to keep economic cooperation within the narrow limits of the mutual insurance system. All this explains why the Polish-American society has remained in this respect far behind the peasant class in Poland. Now, however, the situation seems to be changing. The Polish-American colonies are rapidly accumulating wealth. The mutual insurance organizations have given them the minimum training in cooperation which they needed and developed a new generation of leaders, not very cultivated but practically efficient. Thus we see during the last ten years a number of new cooperative institutions—banks, stores, factories—growing up throughout the country, and many Poles already begin to foresee a not very distant future when these institutions will combine into a new super-territorial system incomparably more powerful economically and probably more coherent socially than the one now in existence.

The motives which originally led to the formation of super-territorial institutions were of a political nature, and since there are several distinct political currents among the American Poles there is, of course, no possibility of creating a single organization embracing all the local groups. The political distinctions which led to the division of the Poles in this country into various camps had no connection with American politics; they were at first imported from Europe, later modified and redefined under the influence of internal social problems of Polish-American life. Before the war three or-

ganizations expressed the main political currents—the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Alliance of Polish Socialists. During the time of the war two new, exclusively political and antagonistic formations, the National Department and the Committee of National Defense, were superimposed upon these; but with the solution of the political question which gave birth to them—Poland's independence—they tend to disappear.

The National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union both claim priority of origin. This claim is not a merely academic matter; it is connected with questions of their social value. Each of them, indeed, has always aimed in vain to unify all American Poles; and Polish-American social opinion—even more social opinion in Poland—considers such a unification the highest ideal and deplores, without being able to remove them, the obstacles which prevent the realization of this idea. The National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union put the blame on each other for standing in the way of complete unification and each claims that, if it had not been for the interference of the other it would have achieved this aim. Both seem to be right here, though from different standpoints. For in so far as their respective influence upon territorial communities is concerned, the Roman Catholic Union, by enjoining subordination to the clergy and cooperation in parish life, is a factor of social unity, whereas the National Alliance is the refuge of most of the dissenters who do not want to subordinate themselves to the local parochial authorities. But with regard to the formation of a super-territorial system it is the Roman Catholic Union which has played the rôle of a dissenting group, and, as we shall see presently, its claims of priority can hardly be recognized.

The National Alliance started in Philadelphia during the first half of the year 1880. Its center was later moved to Chicago. The initiative came directly from Europe from Polish political *émigrés* of 1863 who had gathered around certain political and cultural institutions (the Polish National League and the Polish National Treasury, in Paris, the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil, Switzerland) endeavoring to concentrate and organize the social forces of Poland for the continuation of her national struggle. The formation of the Polish National Alliance was meant to be one of these actions of social concentration by which the scattered and consequently useless energies of the Polish immigrants in this country could be utilized for Polish national aims. The initiators understood very well that the immigrant settlements in America, unlike the small groups of political *émigrés* in Europe, had a character of permanence and that the majority of American Poles would never return, but would adapt themselves to American conditions and become American citizens. But they thought that the Polish-American society, when adequately organized, could remain an integral part of the Polish nation even while participating actively in American social life and being politically loyal to this country. In order to understand this idea we must remember that already half a century before (after the revolution of 1830) Polish social philosophers had developed the principle—which has been popularized by literature—that the unity of the Polish nation could be preserved in the conditions in which Poland had to live only by becoming essentially spiritual, independent not only of the "material" political situation but also of space and time in general. Poles were supposed to remain Poles for all time, not only ethnically but nation-

ally by their consciousness of national solidarity and their willingness to work for Poland, however far they might be removed from the Polish territory and under whatever state system they had to live.

The task of the Polish National Alliance as conceived by its initiators was thus to turn the Polish immigrants in this country into a strong and coherent part of the Polish nation. This implied two aims: 1) the maintenance and development of the intellectual, moral, æsthetic and religious bonds unifying the immigrants with Poland, and of actual social contacts between the colonies and the mother country, the former sending back individuals, particularly of the second generation, trained in commerce and industry, the latter sending out intellectual leaders and organizers; 2) the economic, social, and political progress of the Polish-American colonies themselves, for precisely because they were treated as an integral part of Poland they were an object of interest in themselves. In the beginning, however, there is no doubt that the second aim was subordinate to the first; the progress of Polish-American society was considered important much less for its own sake than in view of the services which it might render to Poland by raising the prestige of the nation abroad, by influencing —as in the case of the *émigrés* in France—American politics in favor of Poland and by preparing economic means and man-power for a forthcoming national revolution. The best proof of this attitude is found in the fact that not only the initiators in Europe but the organizers of the Polish National Alliance in America strongly emphasized the desirability of checking further emigration from Poland.

But such a complete subordination of the Polish-American colonies to Poland could not last. Immigra-

tion continued to pour in and the very progress of organization increased the self-consciousness of the immigrants. Even while thinking of itself as an indissoluble part of Poland, Polish-American society began to feel its own importance more. It was still, at least theoretically and in the words of its leaders, willing to work for the benefit of the whole; but it would no longer be treated as a mere annex of the nation, a tool with no other value than that drawn from its fitness to serve for the promotion of the interests of the mother country. It wished its own particular interests to be recognized as a part of the general Polish national interests, just as, for instance, the particular interests of Posen or of Galicia were recognized as a matter of general national concern. This attitude found its expression in the popular term "the fourth province of Poland" applied to Polish-American society—the first three being the Russian, Austrian and German parts.

The Polish National Alliance was for nearly a quarter of a century the bearer of this ideology. And in America it rallied nearly all those intellectual or half-intellectual elements which preserved contact with the old country and were influenced by the traditions of militant Polish nationalism. In Poland it was almost recognized as the official representative of the "fourth province," and was in contact with the "National Democracy," *i. e.*, that political party which combined as far as it could a radical nationalism in the political field with an equally radical conservatism in the economic domain. However, before the Great War the Polish national side of the idea of the "fourth province" had lost most of its real background, since, except for the importation of Polish cultural values—which the National Alliance certainly favored,—the contacts between

Polish-American colonies and Poland were weak and sporadic. Poland, absorbed in her own local struggles, was not very much interested in Polish-American life, and *vice versa,* Polish patriotism was not a vital matter with the great mass of American Poles, as we have shown above. The principle of the "fourth province" would probably have slowly died out with those leaders who had developed it and tried to keep it alive, for the National Alliance in spite of all its official proclamations was imperceptibly but continuously drifting toward the political standpoint which, as we shall see presently, the Roman Catholic Union had half openly taken from the beginning—that of a Polish-American, not Polish national institution. This is well illustrated by the fact that it protested energetically against all plans of the American government to restrict immigration—a curious change from its original attitude thirty years before. But the war, owing to a unique combination of influences, gave a brilliant though temporary realization to the dream of the nationalistic group in this country. Poland was overrun by fighting armies and the communication between it and the western world was cut almost entirely. At the same time Poland's independence became an international problem which was formulated most clearly here, by the head of the American nation. The interest in Poland, already aroused by the personal connections of many immigrants with the war sufferers in the old country, was further developed in the masses by the prominence which the political situation of Poland assumed in American public opinion. For once to claim allegiance to Poland gave some kind of prestige. Men from the old country came—men of a higher intellectual level than the local leaders—called for help and work until the Polish-American society sud-

denly realized that it was able to become a really important factor in Polish life. It could not only help with money and men, it could also for the moment assume the function of a representative part of Poland in its relations to the western nations and thereby influence appreciably the internal political situation of Poland by helping the Polish National Democratic Party to obtain the aid of the American government. Thus for the first, and probably for the last time, Polish-American society played for a while in Polish life a rôle similar to that which any one of the provinces of Poland might have played if it had remained free from foreign occupation during the war. And although the leadership in these activities was in the hands of a new institution, the National Department, created for this purpose, and the National Alliance was only the most important among several organizations which cooperated in establishing this institution and helping it to run, all this was in fact the triumph of the Alliance by being a realization of the official political program for which it had theoretically stood for many years.

However, even during the time of the war the chief political interests of the Alliance remained connected with the development of the "fourth province" in particular rather than with that of Poland in general. In studying attentively the reports issued by the organization during these years we come to the conviction that although a sincere desire to help Poland was not lacking, there was also another, even stronger desire to profit of the opportunities offered by the unique political situation to raise the prestige and to increase the cohesion of Polish-American society. It makes, of course, much difference with regard to the standing of the Poles in America whether they are wanderers without a coun-

try of their own or have the background of a strong and independent state; in particular, the official recognition of the Polish nation abroad seems to give a more objective significance to the Polish national organizations in this country. In the past the National Alliance had been working more strenuously than any other institution to make American society appreciate the American Poles better by trying to attract the attention of American circles to Poland's past and present and to spread among them the recognition of the unity, culture and historical services of the Polish nation. Much of what this institution did on behalf of Poland during the war had the same conscious or subconscious motive.

In another respect still the help offered to Poland during the war was an efficient way of fostering the special aims which the National Alliance had always pursued with reference to the Polish-American society. Since its intention was to unify the American Poles outside of the church and independently of religious interests it needed some general ideal to oppose to the theocratic ideal of the clergy, and Polish patriotism fulfilled this function. But of course, it could counterbalance the power of religion only if it found response in the masses, whereas, as we have seen, originally this response was rather weak. The National Alliance did all it could to change the mere racial solidarity of American Poles into political idealism. It initiated national celebrations on all important anniversaries. Its organs—the most influential and, except for two or three more radical papers, probably the best Polish periodicals in America—always tried to impose the national ideal upon social opinion. A large library in Chicago and a number of small circulating libraries popularized Polish literature among the masses. In its struggles against the

clerical party the Alliance continually put forward its own patriotic standpoint as a particular asset and thus not only strengthened in its adherents the belief that it was a real asset but even forced, as we shall see, its opponents to adopt similar patriotic attitudes. It always protested with indignation against the charge of the radical groups that it was a mere mutual insurance association, and emphatically proclaimed its "idealistic" character. But for fifteen or twenty years before the war it was really difficult to say whether the influence of the Alliance among American Poles was due chiefly to the appeal which it made to patriotic emotions or was simply the result of the fact that as the only important institution which openly opposed the domination of the clergy it rallied most of the independent and of the dissatisfied elements of Polish-American communities. The outburst of patriotic emotions during the war gave it at once a much broader positive "idealistic" foundation among the masses than it had ever had. In two years its membership increased by more than 20,000 in spite of the fact that there was no immigration, that the men of military age had been drafted, that many had gone over to the camp of the Committee of National Defense (see below), and that many others who would have joined it did not think it worth while because they planned to return to Poland immediately after the war. Thus Polish patriotism has proved useful not only for the prestige but also for the unity of Polish-American society.

That not Poland but the Polish-American group is the ultimate object of interest of the National Alliance is indirectly shown by the growing place which American loyalty has assumed in the activities of this organization. We speak here of loyalty rather than of pa-

triotism, for the attitude expressed toward America is rather one of duty than of enthusiasm—probably because there has been no feeling that America needed anything more than a normal loyalty, whereas Poland called for sacrifices. Between this loyalty and Polish patriotism there was never any conflict or discrepancy, however radically conflicting may be the tendency of the National Alliance—and of all Polish-American institutions—to preserve intact Polish culture and the tendency of American society to "assimilate" the immigrant culturally. The reason given officially for this easy reconciliation of the allegiance to America with the allegiance to Poland was that since America always stood for freedom it might be expected to help Poland regain and preserve independence; and thus by fostering American interests Polish interests would be indirectly fostered. This argument was certainly corroborated during the war. Moreover, the duties toward America were willingly assumed because of the fact that America gave Polish institutions the right to develop freely here. It is evident, however, from the study of the activities of the National Alliance that the manifestations of loyalty to America, just as the manifestations of patriotic enthusiasm for Poland, had their ultimate reason in the interests of Polish-American society, to whose institutions they brought recognition and security. Thus during the war the Polish National Alliance did as much as any purely American institution in fostering the recruiting of volunteers and the sale of liberty bonds and war stamps; but its efforts did not remain unrewarded, for it earned special recognition from the United States government, had its existence guaranteed (while the German National Alliance lost its charter), obtained freedom from censorship for its organs, helped

to gain for Poles who were former Austrian or German subjects exemption from the laws concerning alien enemies, etc.

In short the rôle which the National Alliance has played up to this moment can be summed up as follows. Theoretically this institution accepted the principle that the Polish colonies in this country should be made an integral but autonomous part of the Polish nation by means of a super-territorial organization in the form of a federation of local groups. In practice it has formed a large number of American Poles into a self-conscious body whose main official political bond, added to social bonds, is a commonly acknowledged allegiance to Poland but, whose ultimate aims are the prestige, security and solidarity of Polish-American society.

Very different was the standpoint originally taken by the next largest organization, the Polish Roman Catholic Alliance. Its initiators and organizers were priests, already settled in this country with an intention of staying. The parish system was perfectly satisfactory to them as long as they were left in complete control of their parishes. They saw a need of communicating with one another, and even of forming, if possible, a regular theocratic government of the Polish colonies in order better to control all unruly elements within and to defend the autonomy of the incipient Polish-American church against interference from without, particularly from the American clergy. But at first they did not see any need of a *direct* unification of the Polish colonies into one social body. The patriotic motives which actuated the initiators of the National Alliance did not appeal to the majority of the Polish clergy. The Roman Catholic Church was not willing to let its members take any active interest in Poland's national struggle. And

even those priests who, like Barzyński, had participated in the revolution of 1863 were discouraged by the results of this revolution and deliberately joined a party formed in Poland at that time whose political doctrine was the resignation of all claims to national unity and independence and the reduction of national activities to the one aim of preserving Polish culture within the limits imposed by complete political loyalty to the partitioning states. Transferred to American soil this doctrine was interpreted to mean the preservation of the cultural integrity of Polish-American colonies—language, religion, mores—but no participation at all in the political life of Poland or even, more generally, no political aims whatever.

Nevertheless the clergy was pushed into politics and forced to organize Polish-American society into a federation of local groups. Two factors were active here—the formation of the National Alliance and the possibility of Americanization. The National Alliance by its very existence as a lay organization constituted a threat against the exclusive supremacy which the clergy desired to keep in its hands; as we have seen, it actually has become the refuge of rebellious and dissenting local groups. Seeing this danger, not only the Order of the Resurrectionists but the majority of other priests and lay leaders whose interests were connected with those of the clergy took a definite stand from the beginning against the National Alliance. A pretext for the opposition was easily found, for the initiators and organizers of the Alliance, though not in any way anti-religious, showed liberal and democratic tendencies and the Alliance was intended to include Poles without distinction of religious denomination. Even before the Alliance was actually formed it was denounced as masonic, heret-

ical, socialistic, etc., and the clerical group went so far as to induce an American bishop to excommunicate the organization and its adherents. But this was not considered enough; a rival institution had to be established. Thus a few months after the official foundation of the National Alliance, on the initiative of Barzynski and several other priests, some associations of the parish of St. Stanisław in Chicago federated themselves into a nucleus of the Roman Catholic Union which, in order to secure priority, claimed to be the continuation of the informal organization of parish leaders founded seven years before but no longer active.

Mere opposition to the National Alliance was, of course, not a sufficient bond to keep the Roman Catholic Union together. Since the rival institution had positive social and political functions some functions of the same kind had to be found for the Union. The existing situation, indeed, easily suggested a purpose which the Union could try to fulfil. Although the Polish colonies in this country were continually gaining in number, cohesion and self-consciousness, their very development made them more attentive to phenomena of Americanization in the cultural rather than in the political sense. Now, the Polish-American Catholic Church, however little it was interested in preserving the American Poles for Poland, was certainly much concerned about preserving them for itself. The whole reason of existence of the Polish clergy in this country was and is the ethnical separateness of Polish communities. We find therefore the seemingly paradoxical situation of the clerical party, which tends to ignore, without daring to oppose, Polish political patriotism and yet is much more intent on having the Polish immigrants remain limited to their own culture and isolated from

the American milieu than even the most exclusive Polish nationalists, who are rather inclined to encourage the participation of immigrants in American institutions and acquaintance with American culture, provided this does not impair their activities in Polish institutions.[1]

Of course the main instrument of ethnical preservation is the parish system; but in many communities the parish itself needed to be strengthened against both the attempts of the anti-clerical elements to create lay social centers and the influence of the American milieu which attracted many among the more intelligent and active immigrants. The failure of the projected theocratic government forced the clergy to realize the necessity of supplementing the parish system by a half democratic super-territorial institution whose special function would be to uphold and propagate in all communities the principle of ethnical preservation as supreme standard of social activity and to idealize the parish system as the only instrument of preservation.

To this function was gradually added another. The Polish-American clergy saw very well that in order to have a strong position in its relations with the American Catholic Church of which it formally was a part, it had to show a social power based upon the will of the immigrant masses, to demonstrate that it had the backing of Polish-American society. The Roman Catholic Union—nominally a lay institution, only unofficially controlled by priests—has been continually used for promoting the interests of the Polish clergy not only with the American bishops but even in Rome. This was, of course, in perfect accordance with its general standpoint

[1] An interesting illustration of this difference is the fact that many radical nationalists have openly advocated the public school instead of the parochial school.

as to the importance of the parish system and the clergy for Polish-American life.

It is rather surprising that the Roman-Catholic Union, whose principle of ethnical preservation is more in accordance with the predominant tendencies of Polish-American society than is the political, patriotic policy of the National Alliance, and which has enjoyed all the time the protection of the most prominent representatives of the Church, has nevertheless remained in all respects behind the National Alliance. This can be explained only by the relatively lower average cultural level of its members and by the fact that its functions are shared more or less by other similar though smaller institutions, formed later, and also under the influence of the clerical group. It seems that the church is rather disinclined to let any one lay organization, however completely it may be under clerical control, assume too much power lest it should some time become difficult to manage; the policy is to encourage several organizations at once in every field and to control all of them. Besides, by this method the clergy finds it possible to utilize even the dissensions between its adherents by giving the dissenters an outlet in separate institutions. This policy has certainly proved prudent with reference to the Roman Catholic Union, whose prestige and even existence have been more than once endangered by dishonest or unwise management. For the Catholic Church, which has always tended to utilize lay political and social institutions to foster its aims, experiences, as its intellectual and moral influence upon society decreases, a growing difficulty in finding among the laity intelligent and honest tools.

For the reasons mentioned above the Roman Catholic Union has been merely a weaker copy of the Na-

tional Alliance in its internal organization, in its economic and cultural functions. When the Alliance started any new line of activity which improved its system or raised its prestige the Union usually followed the lead of its rival. Such was, for instance, the case with the publication of its organ, with the introduction of mutual life insurance, with the organization of special philanthropic and cultural departments (information for new immigrants, assistance in old age, library, stipends for poor students) with the admission of women to the management, etc. But even more significant is the fact that the Roman Catholic Union has been forced, partly by its rivalry with the National Alliance, partly by certain implications of its own policy, partly perhaps by the impulses of some of its own members which the clergy could not completely control, to engage in Polish patriotic activities.

Though the principle of preservation of the ethnical characters of American Poles for which the Roman Catholic Union has been standing is distinct from the principle of political allegiance to Poland which was the original creed of the National Alliance, in their practical applications they overlap to a considerable degree. And if the National Alliance has been led to subordinate its interest in Poland to its interests in the *Polonia Americana,* the Roman Catholic Union has been often forced to show some interest in Poland for the benefit of the aims which it pursues with reference to the *Polonia Americana.* The clergy may be very much disinclined to keep alive in the immigrant the patriotic Polish feeling which prevents him from concentrating all his energy on the development of his community and parish and contributes toward making him for a long time consider his stay in this country as merely tempo-

rary. But the danger of being attracted by Poland seemed more distant and practically less important than that of being absorbed by the American milieu, particularly for the second generation. Polish patriotism within certain limits could be safely utilized as a means of preventing Americanization and the Roman Catholic Union did utilize it, though it did not need it for the unification of its members as much as did the National Alliance, since it had an even stronger instrument in the religious idea which it emphatically proclaimed to be inseparable from the national idea in the cultural sense of the term. Religion was a pretext which permitted it to halt whenever its participation in patriotic activities threatened to subordinate it to the leadership of the National Alliance. Thus its actual contributions to Polish national aims have been much more limited than even those of the National Alliance. During the war it was, indeed, carried by the social current much beyond its original plans; like the National Alliance, though on a somewhat smaller scale, it contributed economically and politically to the Polish cause and exercised indirectly some influence on Polish politics. But these activities were only a temporary deviation from its line of conduct—a deviation which, as we have seen, has proved to be in the interest of Polish-American society and has raised the power and prestige of the Union.

While thus both the National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union, in spite of their differences, have been essentially Polish-American rather than Polish institutions—the latter more so than the former—and the real object of their interest is Polish-American society, the third important political institution, the Alliance of Polish Socialists, differs in this respect radically from

both of them and, indeed, from all other Polish organizations in this country. It is the only political organization for which Polish-American society is not an entity, a self-sufficient object of activity.[1] In so far as its standpoint is manifested in its conscious reflective tendencies it recognizes the immigrant only as either completely a Pole or a Polish speaking American. It ignores entirely the "American Pole" as member of an ethnically uniform and socially coherent body which is neither Polish nor American. It never seems to make any appeals to the purely ethnical solidarity of the Poles as against other ethnical groups in this country. This attitude has found its expression in the existence of two different socialist organizations, the Polish Section of the American Socialist Party, which is interested almost exclusively in American political and social problems and forms a distinct group rather for practical than for national reasons, and the Alliance of Polish Socialists with which we are concerned now and which was for years—and, as it seems, is even now—a branch of the most powerful socialist organization in Poland, which differs from the socialist organizations in other countries by its intensely national character and has always considered the political independence of Poland its first and most important aim. All the interests of the American branch have thus been up to now almost exclusively connected with Poland. In accordance with the principle of international solidarity it has indeed taken part in American social struggles in cooperation with the labor unions; but it broke all connections with the International Workers of the World when the lat-

[1] The Sokols often seem to take the same attitude in theory but the Sokols are not a political organization and in practice, as a social institution, they are "Polish-American."

ter tried to counteract the war activities which the Polish socialists in this country developed during the war in order to help the Polish cause. The main purpose of the Alliance of Polish Socialists has been, indeed, the enlistment and preparation of workers to participate in the political and social life of Poland. It has been essentially concerned with temporary immigrants and presupposed that most of them would return to Poland and cooperate there, first in Poland's struggle for independence, secondly in the reorganization of the Polish state and society.

In this respect the Socialist Alliance is exactly similar to the old associations of political Polish *émigrés* in Europe. The analogy goes further still. Most of the socialist leaders and many members actually are political *émigrés*—almost the only political *émigrés* who have come to this country during the last thirty years. Intellectually and morally their level is thus on the average higher than that of the corresponding elements of other Polish groups in this country; they have brought with them more Polish cultural values and preserved closer contact with the culturally productive spheres of Polish society. For the same reason they have been able to understand American culture better; a part of their preparation for Polish life has been, indeed, the assimilation of such American cultural values as seem to them most useful for Poland with the intention of importing them to the latter country on their return.

The main activities by which the Alliance of Polish socialists tried to realize its purpose were propaganda and the training of members. The former, however, has not been very successful as far as recruiting of new members is concerned; the socialist organization numbers between one and two thousand members as against

one hundred and thirty thousand belonging to the National Alliance and about one hundred thousand in the Roman Catholic Union. There are several reasons for this unsuccess. First, the necessity of subordinating all individual and local interests to the Polish national ideal, which the Alliance of Socialists took much more seriously than other organizations, limited the circle of possible recruits to the most intelligent and idealistic among the immigrants, and the Alliance made a very careful choice of new members so as not to admit undesirable Bohemian elements. Secondly, many among those who would have joined the organization if it had been purely patriotic refused to commit themselves to the socialistic doctrines. Further, the parishes and the older and more powerful super-territorial institutions, whatever might have been their differences and dissensions, were equally hostile to socialism, particularly since the latter had become an appreciable quantity. Finally, economic dissatisfaction, which in Europe is the most powerful spring of socialistic movements, is relatively weak among Polish immigrants, who are on the average quite satisfied with their situation, in the beginning because their wages seem high as compared with those in the old country, later because they begin to own property and see prospects of advance for the second generation.

Realizing all this the Polish socialists have resigned all claims to the rôle of a political party here and practically consider their organization a training school and a center of future influence. "Let us form men every one of whom will be able in any locality without help to create spontaneously and . . . to lead an organization." Thus one of the oldest leaders formulated the purpose of the Alliance. Accordingly, the main attention was

paid to the theoretic and practical education of the members. Nevertheless, they wish to exercise some influence on the outside Polish-American life through the press and public meetings. This influence is out of proportion to their numerical weakness, owing to the intellectual qualities and intense activity of their leaders. It has manifested itself not so much in an acceptance by other groups of the positive suggestions of the Socialist Alliance as in the fact that the sharp criticism to which these groups were subjected forced them to take into consideration problems which otherwise they might have ignored, and the initiative which the socialists took in certain matters compelled their opponents to start activities which otherwise they might have never started. Particularly important in these respects was the rôle which the socialist group played during the war, as adherents of the Committee of National Defense of which we shall speak presently.

It is, however, a particularly instructive fact that in spite of its conscious efforts to remain a purely Polish, not a Polish-American organization, even the Socialist Alliance has been slowly drifting in the direction which the evolution of all Polish institutions in this country has taken and is becoming increasingly absorbed in local problems. The very struggle which it wages against other groups of Polish-American society brings a growing concentration of its interests upon this society. The local groups of which it is composed are, of course, in contact with Polish-American communities; through competition with other local associations and adaptation to local conditions they are unavoidably drawn to the common type which we have studied above. An increasing proportion of members acquire the feeling of permanence with regard to their stay in this country,

and it is already clear that, though relatively more of them than of other groups will return, enough will remain to keep the organization running, and lately, since the war has ended, the future purposes of the Alliance have been implicitly or even explicitly formulated as connected rather with the social and political life of America than with that of Poland.

The war in general marks a crisis in the evolution of the super territorial system of Polish-American society by bringing to a full expression the Polish national tendencies, and by realizing the goal of all these tendencies—the independence and unity of Poland—has left no definite object for Polish patriotism in this country. The special organizations formed during the war to promote Polish interests have a sociological significance for our present study as showing the function and the relative importance of Polish patriotism in Polish-American society in general, not only in particular institutions existing in this society. They represent the only really consistent effort to unify all American Poles exclusively by the power of a political ideal, without the help of those social and economic factors which, as we have seen above, are at work in such permanent super-territorial institutions as the National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union.

In the beginning of 1913 the Polish parties which under the leadership of Pilsudski were preparing a Polish national uprising in connection with the coming war sent a delegation to America with the purpose of obtaining the aid of American Poles. A "Committee for National Defense" was formed in which at first all Polish-American organizations participated. The "Committee" was intended to be a subordinate agency of a provisional revolutionary government established in

Poland. Its aims, of course, bore exclusively on the Polish situation. Soon, however, its unity was destroyed. Personal dissensions precipitated the break; but the latter was unavoidable in view of the prevalent tendencies of Polish-American society. After six months the representatives of the clerical party, led by the Roman Catholic Union left the Committee. Various reasons were given for this step, some personal, others political—unwillingness to accept the leadership of socialists, who did indeed play an important part in the Polish revolutionary government and in the American Committee as the initiators of the whole plan. The deepest reason expressed itself in the protest which this group raised against the Committee for neglecting entirely all local, Polish-American problems, and in the formation of a rival organization, the Polish National Council, whose aims were almost exclusively local and which maintained only a vague connection with Poland. The clerical party simply remained true to its policy of ignoring Polish affairs for the sake of Polish-American affairs. In the following year the "national" group under the leadership of the National Alliance also seceded from the Committee. It seems, judging from the past tendencies of the National Alliance and the later developments, that the fundamental factor of this breach was the unwillingness of this group of American Poles to subordinate themselves to orders from the old country instead of playing a political game of their own. However, in this case the secessionists found a better formal reason for not remaining in the Committee than the clericals did a year before. The plan of the Polish revolutionary government was to cooperate with Austria against Russia so as to liberate first of all Russian Poland, counting that Germany would be too much occu-

pied on the western front to influence the eastern situation unfavorably for Poland. But the revolutionary government was not endorsed by the "National Democratic Party" in Poland, which considered Germany a more dangerous enemy than Russia and was therefore inclined to favor cooperation with Russia or at least a policy of non-interference and bargaining. As soon as the war actually broke out the latent opposition between the Polish-American group led by the National Alliance and the rest of the Committee crystallized as an opposition of the anti-Russian and the anti-German "political orientation," the latter being in the eyes of the National Alliance sanctioned by the authority of the "National Democratic Party" in Poland. The second secessionist group organized a "Central Relief Committee" which, though not concerned with local social problems like the National Council formed a year before, was not yet a political institution. Only in 1916 under the influence of Paderewski, Dmowski and other European leaders, and wishing to counteract the Committee of National Defense, all the groups which opposed the latter brought into existence a political organization under the name of Polish National Department, whose chief aim was to promote the cause of Poland's independence by financial, diplomatic and later also military activities, but relying entirely on the Allies.

We need not relate the history of Poland during the war. If Poland has actually recovered by the force of arms most of her territories from Russia and Germany this was due chiefly, if not exclusively to those groups which started the national revolution under Piłsudski, whereas the work of the National Democratic politicians has had great importance in the recognition of Poland by the allied powers. What interests us here

is the bearing of the evolving political situation in Europe on Polish-American society.

The opposition between the group represented by the Committee of National Defense and the groups centered around the National Department was incomparably more violent than any party struggle in Poland because the difference between their attitudes with reference to the Polish question was aggravated by the fact that these camps represented radically different standpoints with reference to the political aims of Polish-American society.

The Committee of National Defense represented the idea of complete subordination of Polish-American politics to the orders of those organizations in Poland which at the given moment were the bearers of the idea of national independence. It subordinated itself to the provisional revolutionary government because during the first two years it was this government only which unconditionally proclaimed the independence of Poland as its aim, whereas the opposing party declared itself satisfied with autonomy under Russia. Later when the Central Powers proclaimed Poland independent, though confined within the limits of the Congress Kingdom, the Committee recognized the new government which was formed under German occupation. Its opponents had by that time agreed to demand the complete independence of Poland, but the Committee still protested against their taking any steps in the name of that country on their own initiative and asserted that their duty as Poles was merely to obey the Polish government *de facto*. When finally Poland freed herself from German occupation and was recognized by the Allies the Committee decided that, except in so far as it could assist Poland in the work of political and economic reconstruction, the

political rôle of Polish-American society was at an end, leaving the internal politics of Poland in the hands of the Polish Diet and external politics to the accredited representatives of the government.

It is significant that the Committee of National Defense rallied only a very small minority of Poles in this country. This fact becomes even more instructive when we study its composition. It included besides the socialists most of those intellectuals who were educated in the old country and who in this country did not participate much in the life of Polish-American communities, a few old men with the traditions of 1863, and a limited number of recent immigrants of the younger generation. In general it recruited its adherents chiefly from among those not completely assimilated by Polish-American society. Recently the socialists seem to be dropping out and the majority of the others will probably return to Poland. Unless there comes a fresh tide of immigration, including more intellectual elements than previously, the political attitudes represented by the Committee will soon entirely disappear.

The National Department, around which the immense majority of American Poles were concentrated, represented, on the contrary, the idea that Polish-American society had the right to have its own political standpoint with reference to the Polish problem. There is no doubt that in determining this standpoint the interests of Polish-American society itself played an important part, however exaggerated may be the statement of the opponents of the Department that the leaders of the latter used the Polish situation as an instrument for their local politics. The activity of the Department certainly has been beneficial to Poland, though the financial contribution which Polish-American society through its

medium sent to Poland fell far short of the expectations of this institution. In fact, the results of its activity have been more important for Polish-American society than for Poland. It has greatly increased the self-consciousness of this society and thus prepared the way for its more complete unification. It has been the first fairly successful experiment in subordinating most of existing territorial and super-territorial organizations to one superior organization and imposing a common purpose on all Polish-American communities. And such an experiment is likely to be repeated. Moreover, the framework created for war purposes still partly exists. The National Department worked through a system of local organizations, so-called Citizens' Committees, which in addition to their war activities performed certain functions connected with the interests of the local communities such as, for instance, assisting immigrants in securing American citizenship.

This brief survey of the most important super-territorial organizations leads us to two general conclusions. First, these organizations have been successful in the measure in which their activities had ultimately in view the benefit of Polish-American society as a separate group, its unity, its prestige, its economic and cultural interests. Secondly, they had nevertheless to make a show of Polish patriotism and even to work more or less for the Polish cause, because Polish patriotic aims were traditionally considered the *raison d'être* of all organizations of Polish immigrants, because among the more intelligent and active Poles in this country some Polish patriotic tendencies have always existed and, finally, because the distinction between Poles in the ethnical sense of the term and Poles as members of the Polish nation was difficult to estab-

lish in practice and the ethnical solidarity of American Poles could not be easily separated from the idea of their common allegiance to Poland, since the Polish national ideal was considered a part of the common stock of Polish culture.

But the crisis brought by the war has greatly diminished the importance of this second principle of Polish-American super-territorial organization. Since the independence of Poland became a fact the main explicit patriotic purpose of Polish associations outside of Poland has disappeared. There are, indeed, many other things which such associations could do for Poland. They might, for instance, serve as mediums of social contact between Poland and other nations or as agencies for the importation of foreign values to Poland and of Polish values to other countries. But none of the particular aims which might be developed in these lines could play the same rôle as the ideal of national independence, which seemed sufficiently general and important to rally all the Poles, had the quality of moral elevation equal to religious ideals, and appeared to the American Poles during the thirty years preceding the war as sufficiently vague and distant not to require too immediate and uncomfortable personal sacrifices. Further, those in whom Polish patriotism is really strong can now return to Poland, if they wish; whereas those who do not return will have no longer any justification in proclaiming themselves Polish patriots nor any right to affirm that they are prevented from returning by political reasons. There will be no longer the old feeling of duty connected with the preservation of Polish patriotism. Moreover, the establishment of a Polish state and the consequent official distinction between Polish citizenship and American citizenship will make the prin-

ciple of dual patriotism difficult to maintain. A Pole who forswore his allegiance to Russia, Germany or Austria in order to become an American citizen did not impair thereby his moral allegiance to Poland, but he can not forswear his allegiance to the Polish state and maintain without contradiction that he is a loyal member of the Polish nation.

Thus Polish-American society in the future will have to be a part of America, not a part of Poland. But since even while proclaiming its unity with Poland it tended to assert itself as an autonomous part of the nation with purposes and interests of its own, it is even more bent on remaining an autonomous and self-centered part of America. It wishes to preserve in full its own ethnical character and to increase its social coherence, no longer for the sake of Poland, but for its own sake. It is willing to serve America, but its ultimate purpose is its own preservation and development. It desires to participate in American social, economic and political life, not as a mass of isolated individuals but as an organized and unified social body. It means to use such elements of American culture as will foster its own progress and it has the ambition of bringing into American culture some original contributions of its own. The relation which it intends to establish between America and itself may be perhaps best understood by likening it to the relation between a federal state like Switzerland composed of ethnically heterogeneous elements and any French, German or Italian Swiss canton.

In view of this changed political and social outlook Polish-American society must develop a new conscious and planful policy. It must define more clearly the various problems implied in its relation to America, invent new methods of developing

and concentrating its social and economic powers, find new ways of raising its prestige and of increasing its influence on American life. Can the existing social organization adequately fulfil this task? We doubt it. It is not easy for institutions which for years have pursued the same type of activities, used the same slogans and the same formalism to suddenly redefine their aims and methods. But there is a still deeper difficulty. Along with those activities which we have investigated above and which had certain objective outside purposes in view there have been, of course, activities all the time going on whose only object was to maintain the institutions themselves, to improve their organization, to strengthen their economic foundations, and particularly to increase their membership. Now, these activities have been continually growing in proportion to those which were directed toward the realization of the outside aims for which the institutions officially existed. Gradually and imperceptibly in the case of the super-territorial organization, just as in the case of the parish system, its own existence and growth has become the main object of interest.

In order to understand the origin of this attitude we must remember that all the super-territorial institutions except the purely political ones had an economic foundation in mutual life insurance and the strength of this foundation depended primarily on the formal perfection of the organization and on the number of persons belonging to it. The financial department of every organization was naturally interested more in the stability and numerical growth of this organization than in anything the latter could do in the social or political field, and the influence of the financial department on the affairs of the organization grew with the importance of

the financial operations. Further, the primary purpose of the whole Polish-American system was to unify all the Poles in this country by bonds of social organization and thus overcome the territorial and social isolation that would normally follow emigration. It is therefore no wonder if during this first period of Polish-American society the mere fact of association became a supreme value, independent of any further values to be obtained by association.

But these two factors have only contributed to strengthen a latent tendency which can be detected in every social group. There is no group which does not consider its own growth an important matter and when the purposes for which it has been formed have either been attained or lost their vitality the social power of the group, which was only a means for other ends, becomes an end in itself. This change is hastened by the rivalry between groups which fulfil similar functions. In this respect it is a notable peculiarity of Polish-American institutions that they avoid specialization and division of functions. This is probably due to the fact that the human material with which the Polish-American system is constructed is still in a large measure primary-group material. An immigrant who came from a peasant or small town community unconsciously expects the association to which he belongs to satisfy most of his social and cultural interests. Each Polish-American institution tends to fulfil this expectation as far as possible and tries to do a little of everything. The local association tends to become almost a parish in miniature. The super-territorial organization is little more than a local association enlarged. Every institution wishes to be self-sufficient and since it can be

self-sufficient only if it is powerful, it wants all the members it can get.

A good example of an organization whose own growth has become its only purpose to the exclusion of the purposes for which it was originally created is the Polish Alma Mater. At the time of its foundation in 1897 its aim was the social education of boys. In the course of its evolution it has become a mutual help association, including men, women and children; and the main task of every member (for which he is given encouragement in the shape of honorary and pecuniary rewards) is the recruiting of new members. The growth of the organization is the only purpose ever mentioned in its proclamations and meetings except for the usual vague generalities about unification of the Poles and preservation of their language, mores and religion. There are a number of other organizations, some country-wide, some provincial, which are in this respect exactly like the Alma Mater. The Roman Catholic Union and, in a somewhat smaller degree, the Polish National Alliance seem to be drifting irremediably to the same limits.

Polish-American society needs, therefore, a new super-territorial system more adapted to the new phase of its evolution. The only institutions now existing which may become the basis of such a system are cooperative economic associations—banks, stores, factories, building and loan companies, etc.—but it is too early yet to predict whether they will be able to play such a rôle, for attempts to combine local cooperative associations into wider systems are of a very recent date.

DOCUMENTS

[Documents 26-31 are typical descriptions of local groups belonging to various super-territorial organizations.] [1]

26. The Society of the Holiest Name of Mary (No. 2 of the Polish Roman Catholic Union), in the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka in Chicago is one of the oldest, largest and most vital associations connected with the Church of St. Stanisław. It was organized on September 15, 1887, by the Rev. Priest Wincenty Barzyński who was then curate of this parish. . . .

During the first few months the affluence of members was so great that the administration was forced to divide the association into three sections. From its very foundation the association began to work with energy for the weal and the development of the parish; less than a year after a permanent administration was organized the association conceived the idea of substituting a stone school building for the old wooden one and of constructing a hall for theatrical representations. They elected a committee which was to inform the good curate about this plan and to start action along this line.

The association during the whole time of its existence has always taken an active part in national work—arranged concerts, national celebrations, theatrical representations in order to inculcate the national spirit in the growing youth and to imbue them with Polish life and Polish mores. The association willingly granted and is granting financial assistance, particularly for the construction of Polish schools and churches; it gives financial assistance to Polish institutions for orphans and old people and helps materially all other philanthropic works which our emigrants undertake. . . .

The Society of the Holiest Name of Mary has always faithfully stood by the Church, because it believes firmly that it is possible to unite work for the Faith and the Church with work for the Nation and the Fatherland to the greater benefit of both the Church and the Fatherland. The highest recognition is due to the Society for its warm and willing encouragement of Polish schools and its generosity in this line. . . . Even in the

[1] These were written by the secretaries or by other members of the administrations of the respective societies.

year 1893, a year of general poverty and misery, in spite of the lack of work and earnings, it imposed a special tax upon its members, paid its usual yearly contributions for the [parish] school, and gave $250 for the College of St. Stanisław.

Now the association numbers four hundred and two members. It has over two thousand dollars in its treasury for assistance in sickness. The present administration is composed as follows [14 names given; in addition to those officers which the preceding association had, it has a special usher and a standard-bearer but no guardian of the sick].

Album of the Parish of St. Stanislaw.

27. The Association of Polish Women [under the patronage] of God's Mother of Częstochowa (No. 53 of the Polish Roman Catholic Union) was organized on January 29th, 1900, in the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka by Priest Jan Kasprzycki who was then curate of this parish. The first administration of the Association was composed of the following members [11 names]. . . .

Its aim is to have the Polish women hold to the principles of the Roman Catholic faith and national traditions, for mutual moral and material assistance. By moral assistance we understand developing and promoting friendship, unity and real sisterly love, and spreading education in the Christian and national spirit. By material assistance we understand paying to the remaining family after the death of a member the sum for which she was insured. The Association holds meetings the second Sunday of every month. The Association of Polish Women . . . admits only members of Polish nationality from 14 to 45 years of age, who must have the proper qualifications required by the constitutions of the Union and of the Association. The Association remains under the supervision of the Most Reverend Archbishop and under the control of the local curate or of his vicar in religious and moral matters.

[Besides the insurance in the Union.] . . . In case of the death of a member who had belonged to the Association for 6 months, the latter pays to the heir or heirs $75.00 for funeral expenses. At the funeral of a member who had not fallen behind in her payments the Association orders a Holy Mass for her soul, appears *in corpore* at the divine service, hires two coaches

or one automobile and buys flowers worth $10.00. The members are obliged to go to confession and to Holy Communion twice a year, on the solemn feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Holiest Virgin Mary and during Easter time, as appointed by the Priest curate. The election of officers is performed in accordance with the constitution of the Polish Roman Catholic Union. The guardians of the treasury audit it every three months. The treasurer, the financial secretary and the guardians of the treasury must deposit bonds.

There is no doubt that the Association of Polish Women of God's Mother of Częstochowa has noble and elevated aims, dries the tears of orphans, obliges itself to nurse and to assist the sick, and to spread the Catholic principles, the commands of love of God and our neighbor. All the activities at meetings are carried on in Polish. To the praise of our sisters it must be also said that at their meetings reign perfect order, concord and sisterly love. No one can reproach the Association of Polish Women . . . for any injustice nor for the violation of the constitution of the Association itself or of the Union.

The Association during the relatively short period of its existence has given some theatrical representations for philanthropic aims, organized excursions for the benefit of the new parish school, made a contribution to the College of St. Stanisław Kostka, and every year contributes to the bazaar in the latter parish. In a word, one can boldly say that the members of the Association will never refuse a contribution for the benefit of the parish or of a philanthropic purpose, and always actively participate in all parish affairs. The association arranges for its members every quarter a so-called Variety Evening, adorned not only with a supper but also with a program. The Association has been developing successfully from the day of its foundation up to the present and now numbers 388 active members. The financial statement shows $2,256.51. . . .

Ibid.

28. The Society of St. Joseph (Group 62 of the Polish National Alliance) takes the first place among the oldest associations grouped around the Church of the Holy Trinity. It was organized in 1871. Its founders were [8 names]. In 1872 it began to build the church, which brought upon it much animos-

ity.[1] When the church was closed the Society bought it, took care of it, and defended it aganst a sale to strangers up to the time of ultimate victory. On its initiative continual appeals were made to the local bishop and other dignitaries of the Church, and a delegation was even sent to the Holy Father in Rome. These efforts, as we know, were finally crowned with a successful outcome, for which praise be to God.

After the reopening of the church our association began to work with increased energy, first for the development of the parish, later to increase its own number. Now its financial situation is not bad, for it has a capital of more than a thousand dollars. Of its organizers and pioneers the following ones are still alive [names]. In 1921 this association will celebrate its golden jubilee. The present members wait for this moment with great impatience. [Administration enumerated.]

Album of the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Chicago.

29. The Society "The Key of Liberty" under the patronage of the Holiest Virgin Mary (Group 420 of the Polish National Alliance) is among the oldest associations of the Parish of the Holy Trinity, . . . founded in 1898. [The usual information.] . . .

The association numbers now 171 members of both sexes. During the 20 years of its existence it has paid for good purposes as follows:

For the hungry in Poland [during the war]	$ 180.00
Assistance in sickness [to members insured]	$ 2,973.50
Assistance after death [to members insured]	$ 1,689.50
Philanthropic expenses [not to members]	$ 797.85
Various expenses of the Society [administrative, etc.]	$ 1,768.49
Assessments of the Pol. Nat. Alliance	$15,782.21

Ibid.

30. The Society of God's Mother of Unceasing Help (Group 1333 of the Polish National Alliance) was founded in 1909. . . .

[1] The clergy of the oldest Polish parish, that of St. Stanisław Kostka, was much opposed to the formation of the parish of the Holy Trinity in its neighborhood. The latter parish has always been one of the relatively progressive communities, as against the ultra-clerical *Stanisławowo*. Most of its associations belong to the Polish National Alliance, not to the Roman Catholic Union.

[The usual information.] The Society . . . after short but hard work [as an independent organization] on the initiative of its president and secretary joined the Polish National Alliance. Since then it has doubled its activities, for not only it did not cease to work for the good of its brother-members of the parish but undertook new tasks for the benefit of the Polish National Alliance, of the entire Polonia in the United States of N. A., and also of our oppressed fatherland, Poland, working strenuously for its liberation.

The association . . . has collected altogether the sum of $8,500 . . . out of which $4,000 has been paid for assessments, $2,500 for national aims, $300 for assistance after death.

Ibid.

31. Division of St. Kinga (No. 12 of the Polish Alma Mater) [exclusively for women] was founded in 1903 . . . by the permission [and probably on the initiative] of Rev. Priest Jan Kasprzycki, Curate of the Parish of St. Stanisław. . . . It was the first feminine division in this parish. [Usual personal information.] . . .

Our division accepted the aim suggested by the Head Administration—to come together and work in common in order to increase the ranks of our organization. And now we count among the most numerous divisions.[1] Our purpose also was and is to become useful to ourselves and to Polish society by harmonious work and good intentions. We have tried to arrange parties and public entertainments connected with programs, for we do not lack fellow-workers in this field [those who can perform in public]. We have never refused any requests to give money contributions for the various Catholic institutions, often in a generous measure. We did not shun even public propaganda to increase our ranks, when it was necessary. We have also been sending delegates to diets. [Personal recognition of particularly active members and list of administrative officers.]

Ibid.

[1] The most naïve expression of the tendency which in fact constitutes the essence of the activities of many organizations and is often much more important socially than the great aims officially promulgated by them.

[Documents 32-37 are materials concerning the Polish National Alliance. No. 32 is an extract from a letter of Agaton Giller, former member of the Polish revolutionary government of 1863, written in 1879 from Rapperswil, Switzerland, to the *Gazeta Polska* of Chicago. This letter, which gave the impulse to the foundation of the Polish National Alliance, formulates very well the views and expectations of Polish patriots with regard to Polish-American institutions.]

32. Since emigration exists and constitutes a great power—a fact which cannot be denied—it should be the task of a well understood patriotism to make it as useful as possible for the national cause. This can be done only through organization, which will unify the scattered members and control them in such a way that they will not be wasted but will be preserved for the fatherland. . . .

Every Polish peasant, from whatever Polish province he comes, even from one of those which like Upper Silesia or East Prussia have been for a long time separated from the national body, when transferred to a strange soil among foreigners develops a Polish sentiment and a consciousness of his national character. This phenomenon is incomprehensible for those who saw the peasant at home without a consciousness of national duties. And yet it is quite natural. National consciousness originates in him spontaneously in a foreign country in consequence of the feeling of the striking difference between his speech, his customs, his conceptions from those of the people who surround him. . . .

If after the formation of a conception and sentiment of nationality in him there is some one capable of explaining to him the meaning of this national character and of making him understand the duties resulting from this character then this plain man, formerly ignorant and passive for the national cause, will become an individual consciously and actively serving the idea which rests upon nationality. . . . There is, therefore, no doubt that if a national intellectual class is formed in America the numerous masses can and must be changed into an active human group useful for the national cause, and in order to give them the possibility of becoming useful and at the same time surround

them with conditions which will prevent them from losing their nationality it is indispensable to unite the isolated individuals into more or less numerous associations and communities and bind these together in such a way that the resulting organization while serving the purposes of the Polish cause will be not only useful but indispensable for the private interests of every one of its members. . . .

When the mass of Poles in America is morally and nationally raised by the fact of being unified and is economically prosperous—which should be also one of the tasks of the organization—it will render great services to Poland, even by the mere fact of representing the Polish name well in America. These services can gradually become very considerable when the Poles begin to exercise an influence upon the public life of the United States, when they spread among Americans adequate conceptions about the Polish cause and information about the history, literature and art of our nation, when finally they become intermediaries between Poland and the powerful republic so as to foster sympathy with our efforts for liberation and develop it into an enthusiasm which will express itself in action.

Then only can happen that which is most desirable, *i. e.,* the emigrants who have acquired training in practical lines and wealth in America will begin to return to their fatherland to be useful citizens. . . . We do not need to put forward those benefits which a large organization of Poles in America could bring at the decisive moment when the future of our fatherland will be at stake, for this is easy to see.

Stanisław Osada, *History of the Polish National Alliance* (Historya Związku Narodowego Polskiego), Chicago, 1905, pp. 102-104.

33. [Article published in the first issue of *Zgoda,* the organ of the Polish National Alliance, November 23, 1881.]

What awaits the Poles in America? In putting this question we have in mind the hundreds of thousands of Polish people scattered over the whole territory of the New World without any connection between them. One fact is striking. From among so many Polish emigrants not only not a single powerful personality has risen, but the average level has not even reached that of the most downtrodden European people, the Irish. The problem is thus with how much dignity will the Poles wear on

their heads the crown of American citizenship. Will they remain behind the Irish and be only voting cattle, will they eternally continue to break stones, dig in mines, chop wood, drive mules, etc., or will they stand on the same level as Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen in the higher professions, in literature, commerce, politics and the arts? . . . The solution of these problems will depend on the influence which the many various associations of Poles in this country exercise upon the mass of emigrants, for until the emigrants learn the English language these will be the only school in which the Poles coming to this country can educate themselves. We can be sure of one thing, that if our emigrants continue to submit, as they have done until now, to the influence of obscurantism [clericalism], to the influence of those who for centuries have kept the people in blindness, they will never rise above the level of the Irish and the Polish name will never shine with any light in this country.

It is therefore necessary, first, that all existing Polish associations form one great national entity. Secondly, the Polish National Alliance should use the power of its organization to maintain an organ, a progressive periodical, which will enlighten and instruct the emigrant. It is necessary, further, that every commune organize a Polish library where the more educated will give lectures to their fellow-countrymen. At all celebrations of national anniversaries past and present Polish affairs should be discussed. With such means our emigrants will not only elevate their own spirits and rise above the level of the uneducated masses, but also will be better able to fulfil their mission with regard to Poland.

34. [Extracts from the constitution of the Polish National Alliance as revised in 1909.] . . . 2. The Polish National Alliance is composed of particular groups based on a federative system which does not interfere with the autonomy of the groups or with the management of their funds. . . . The aims for which this organization is founded are as follows: . . . 4. To spread friendship, unity and true Christian love among the members. 5. To try to help the members and their families in cases of physical disablement, sickness, accident or sorrow. 6. To pay benefits after the death of members provided these have

obeyed the constitution, rules and laws. 7. To assist members morally, socially and intellectually. 8. To develop patriotism among the members and to raise and strengthen intellectually, socially and materially all that part of the population of the United States which was born on the lands of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia, and their descendants. 9. To commemorate with proper celebrations the chief anniversaries of the most important historical events in the past of Poland and to maintain and develop by all honorable means the national spirit of the Polish people. 10. Because we consider that the Polish National Alliance has been formed by the will of the Polish people in America, therefore, in the name of this people the Alliance will act legally in behalf of the independence of the Polish lands in Europe by all permissible means. In order to reach this aim the Polish National Alliance will tend strenuously and by all methods to the unification of all Poles, Ruthenians and Lithuanians in America under the national standard of this organization.

35. [Extracts from the Constitution of the Polish National Alliance as revised in 1913.]

Introduction. When in spite of heroic sacrifices and bloody struggles the Polish nation lost its independence, was condemned by the will of Providence to a triple slavery and forcibly deprived by its invaders of the right to live and develop, that part of it which was most deeply wronged preferred voluntary exile to the heavy slavery at home, wandered—following the example of Kościuszko and Pułaski—to the free land of Washington, and having settled here found hospitality and political and civil rights. This brave handful of pilgrims without losing sight of their duties with regard to their adopted country and nation founded the Polish National Alliance . . . with the following aims: A more perfect unification of the Polish emigrants, assistance in their economic, moral, intellectual and social development, preservation of the native language, the national culture and mores from decay, and more efficient action by all permissible means in behalf of the independence of the Polish lands in Europe. Today, therefore, desiring to stabilize further the foundations of this Alliance we, the people of the Alliance and the delegates of the 20th diet, gathered in Detroit, Mich-

igan, September 18, A. D. 1913, as faithful guardians of the ideals which those founders transmitted to us as a sacred heritage, after an experience of thirty-three years confirm and promulgate these fundamental statutes as the highest law equally binding all members belonging to the Polish National Alliance.

Chapter I

1. The highest legislative power of the Polish National Alliance resides in the general diet. . . .

9. The diet cannot vote any law limiting the freedom of worship or of political convictions of the members of the Polish National Alliance. . . .

Chapter II

9. It is treason to the Polish National Alliance for a member to incite or try to persuade other members, groups or departments to break away from the National Alliance or violate its laws and rules; it is treason to slander the Alliance or to harm it by representing in speech or writing the aims, tendencies or interests of the Alliance in a false light. . . . The penalty for treason to the National Alliance is expulsion from the organization and loss of all the rights, privileges and benefits of membership. . . .

10. No member, officer, group, committee, commission, department or part of the Alliance has the right to appeal to the courts of this country in affairs concerning the Alliance or any part of it until all the stages of jurisdiction and appeal within the Alliance, the diet included, have been exhausted.

Chapter VIII

1. The official language of the Polish National Alliance is the Polish language. . . .

Chapter XXIV

1. The Polish National Alliance will publish an official [weekly] organ named *Zgoda,* in which besides informatory and literary parts there will be special sections for particular depart-

ments and for the official announcements of the Alliance. In addition to the official organ a half-official [daily] organ named *Dziennik Związkowy* will be published, which will give all information about the life of the Polish people at home and in foreign countries, watch over the interests of the Alliance and defend the weal of the Polish people.

5. The publications shall be edited in the Polish spirit in accordance with the postulates mentioned in the introduction to this constitution.

CHAPTER LVII

2. The Alliance has the following permanent commissions: The Commission of Enlightenment, the Commission of the Library and Museum, the Commission of Assistance, the Commissions of Emigration, the School Commission, the Commission of Industry and Labor and the Commission of Colonization.

3. . . . The duties of the Commission of Enlightenment are a) to grant loans without interest to sons or daughters of members studying in higher educational institutions; b) to hold literary contests; c) to furnish the libraries of the groups with selected works; d) to organize educational circles in localities where there are groups of the Alliance; e) in a word, to help by all possible means in every work aiming to spread education in Polish society in America. . . .

5. The duties of the Commission of Assistance are a) to give assistance to sick members who prove their need of assistance . . . b) to grant assistance to members who present certificates of complete destitution . . . c) to try to increase the assistance fund by all permissible means. . . .

6. The Commissions of Emigration . . . in ports. Their duties are a) to give assistance to the emigrants; b) to take care of the homes for emigrants. . . .

7. The School Commission is composed of as many persons as the charter of the College of the Polish National Alliance requires. . . . The Commission is to take care that the college be essentially national and the system of instruction is based on the education of the youth in a spirit of nationalism and citizenship.

36. [Report of the president of the Polish National Alliance at the 22nd diet, Pittsburg, Pa., 1918.]

. . . . I begin my report with the political standpoint of the

National Alliance during the last three years, for on this standpoint depended not only the financial and numerical development of the organization but its very future existence. I shall never forget the end of the year 1916 and the beginning of 1917 when my office was flooded with letters from members of the Alliance demanding a revision of our standpoint and subordination to our country [Poland], for only our country could decide the political standpoint of Poles at home and abroad. . . . Great was the Prussian bait in the form of the Austrian-German manifesto published on November 5, 1916 [proclaiming the independence of Poland]. . . . At the same time the Central Powers were at the summit of their military power. . . . It seemed that all the hopes based on the Allies were falling to the ground . . . but we stood firm. . . . And today with joy and pride I can say that the Polish National Alliance has been victorious on the whole front, that it has not betrayed or thrown away the aims of its founders but has remained true to them to the end, and has lived to see the already victorious Allies accept as the main point of peace the demand for a free, unified and independent Poland with an access to the sea. I am persuaded that all the members of the Alliance share my pride and joy . . . for although the Polish National Alliance has become only the leading part of the enormous Polish machine organized by the emigrants in order to give our fatherland financial and military help, nevertheless our organization has had an almost decisive voice in the most important affairs bearing on the position and the future of the Polish nation. . . .

The benefits which the Polish National Alliance in particular and the Polish people in general have received from this victory are so numerous that I can not enumerate them all. I shall only mention the most important ones. . . . First of all, in the mass of the people of the Alliance self-confidence and trust in the leading elements of the organization have been firmly established. While in the politically uncertain period between the 20th and 21st diets the numerical growth of the Alliance was relatively small in spite of the fact that the emigration from Poland, though diminished, still continued, during the period preceding this diet the increase in membership was more than 20,000 notwithstanding the entire lack of emigration, the en-

rollment of hundreds of thousands of Polish youths under the American standards, the voluntary enlistment of thousands of them under Polish standards and the deplorable arguments of those intending to return to Poland who claim that it is not worth their while to become insured. An even greater difference is noticeable in the financial status of our organization, for during these three years the property of the Alliance was almost doubled, which means that all the groups willingly paid their obligations, feeling sure that their leaders would not disappoint them. . . .

From the very first moment of the organization of the Polish army the central administration of the Alliance devoted much attention to it and hastened to help whenever this was possible. . . . For this Polish army is the realization of one of the fundamental aims of the Polish National Alliance which even before the war prepared the Polish youth for this military action by surrounding the Sokols with its protection. . . .

Our organization has also with its whole heart promoted the war of the United States against our hereditary foe, Germany. Not only did numerous volunteers from the ranks of the Alliance enlist under the Star Spangled Banner, not only did I visit personally these volunteers in Jefferson Barracks, instilling spirit into them and placing Polish ideals before their eyes, but when the government appealed to the people for financial help . . . the Polish National Alliance bought $150,000 worth of liberty bonds, $5,000 of war savings stamps and through its organs developed such a propaganda that the people of the Alliance led all Polish organizations in the purchase of these bonds. The government of the United States recognized this effort and sent to the central administration special thanks for the activity of the Alliance, full not only of loyalty but of real patriotism.

K. Zychliński, President of the Central Administration.

37. [Extracts from the reports of the general secretary, the treasurer and the various departments and commissions of the Polish National Alliance at the 22nd diet in Pittsburg, Pa., 1918.]

June 30, 1918, the property of the Polish National Alliance with all obligations subtracted was $3,647,425.55. The Alliance had 126,056 insured members and 3,126 uninsured members.

The total amount of insurance was $72,275,200. There were 1,683 federated local groups, divided into 26 sections as follows:[1]

Section	Groups		Members	
1. Eastern Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire	38	groups	2,876	members
2. Connecticut	48	"	3,506	"
3. Rhode Island	11	"	757	"
4. Eastern New York	96	"	7,672	"
5. Western New York	121	"	8,038	"
6. New Jersey	73	"	7,431	"
7. Maryland and District of Columbia	21	"	1,747	"
8. Delaware	3	"	265	"
9. Southeastern Pennsylvania ..	32	"	2,588	"
10. Northeastern Pennsylvania ..	153	"	13,901	"
11. Western Pennsylvania	203	"	14,993	"
12. West Virginia	18	"	675	"
13. Ohio	109	"	8,270	"
14. Indiana	36	"	3,398	"
15. Northern Illinois	339	"	28,339	"
16. Lower Michigan	101	"	8,302	"
17. Upper Michigan and Wisconsin	77	"	6,261	"
18. Minnesota	31	"	2,095	"
19. Missouri and Alabama	17	"	1,785	"
20. Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado	15	"	1,045	"
21. Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma	10	"	357	"
22. California and Arizona	7	"	271	"
23. Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana	18	"	761	"
24. Canada	2	"	54	"
25. Western Massachusetts and Vermont	22	"	1,848	"
26. Southern Illinois	30	"	1,192	"

For the period from August 1, 1915, to June 30, 1918, the total income of the Alliance was $4,701,600.75. The total ex-

[1] This calculation was made May 1, 1918.

penditure $4,581,659.21. In addition the following special funds were collected from voluntary contributions: A special gift for Poland [besides the regular contribution], $43,828.34; for the Polish army, $11,353.28; for Christmas for Polish children, $6,-094.38; for the museum in Rapperswil, $5,046.01.

The special departments and commissions had during this period the following funds at their disposal: The Department of Polish Independence, $187,515.87 [the report mentions 118 groups which contributed most toward this fund, the highest contribution proportionately to the number of members coming from a group in California]; the Commission of Assistance, $44,-866.59; the Commission of Emigration in New York, $24,178.58; the library, $1,911.10, besides free rent and the salary of the librarian [the library has 7,830 works and was used by 20,413 persons]; the Commission of Enlightenment, $9,703.98, out of which $4,605.00 was spent for scholarships, $1,056.65 on group libraries, 255 on books for Polish soldiers, $655.00 on schools; the Publishing Department, $639,894.73, with an expenditure of $593,093.98; finally, the College of the Polish National Alliance, in Cambridge Springs, Pa., cost during this period $170,387.32. In addition to this the National Alliance spent $2,415.00 on various philanthropies outside of its own activities.

[Documents 38-41 are materials concerning the Polish Roman Catholic Union.]

38. The Polish Roman Catholic Union in America . . . bears with justified pride the glorious slogans of Faith and Polonism, which have been for centuries harmonized in our nation. . . .

Let us look at the fruits of our labor in this country, gathered in the name of religion and nationality. We can, indeed, be proud of them, and we are better in this respect than other peoples here, for probably none of them has in so short a time gained so much for its cause or raised this cause to such a flourishing condition as we have. Hundreds of Polish parishes, hundreds of Polish schools and churches, hundreds of Polish priests, a series of religious and national organizations and associations, among them and at their head our splendid Roman Catholic Union grown under the aegis of Faith—all these work to maintain our standard and this work does not consist in empty words,

it is a work from dawn till night, in church, in school, in association, in society in general, truly godly and truly patriotic work. Who began it among us? Who is leading and spreading it? The Church. The Church through her servants, the priest patriots, gives us the impulse and the opportunity for action. She teaches us here that we are Poles, indicates how to behave to be worthy of this name, gathers us around the hearth of nationality and faith and faithfully defends her children from evil thought and subversive advice. The Church does this; without it we should be nothing, as we were nothing thirty years ago. Without it we should be lost for our fatherland, for the national cause, for ourselves and our children. . . . To our forgotten and unknown settlements in America came the priest from the fatherland. He came like a missionary. He taught how to pray to God, how to read Polish. He told them what Poland was, what the Polish people, their national tasks and duties were. The priests raised churches, built schools and hospitals, founded associations, inculcated the idea of concord and unity, organized fraternal help. The priests created from chaotic and dark masses a society which stands today, serious and strong, on the foundation of its national existence, and goes forward with the same leading thought which lives in the heart of every Pole. That we are Poles, that we shall remain Poles to our death, that our children here will be Poles—this is the work of our religion. This is the merit of the Roman Catholic Church.

Karol Wachtel, *History of the Polish Roman Catholic Union in America* (Historya Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce), Chicago, 1913, Chapter I, "Faith as the Basis of Polonism," pp. 11, 29, 30.

39. Our opponents say about us that we are merely a mutual insurance society. If it is so, then all our alliances and unions here are mutual insurance societies. Moreover, all the non-Polish institutions of this type are the same, for in view of the nature of American society and of its specific inability to do anything without material interests they all have accepted material propaganda and organization as a kind of foundation for their activities. Besides, even this material side has with us deeper and more generous motives, motives of a purely humanitarian

kind. Every insurance of ours is literally a benefit. . . . Taking into account the unusually low assessments in the Union in proportion to the amount of insurance and considering, further, that besides this insurance the member receives for the same money a whole series of other services which only the power of association of a large number of people can give . . . it will be seen that this "insurance association" often becomes here the guardian angel of the lonely emigrant and nearly takes the place of the mother-country which he left. . . .

Let us look from still another side at this insurance. . . . We receive here raw, simple, often very dark people. . . . You will not attract such poor fellows who come here for bread by lofty ideas and high aspirations. One of these has to be shown something practical, accessible to his understanding. . . . Only after being somewhat enlightened, raised and trained by association with his fellow-countrymen he begins to feel a real Pole, begins to talk about the need of education and is ready to give, if others do, some money for this education or for Poland, the old country beyond the ocean. This is how things are done here. This is how our society has developed. . . .

In the oldest constitution of the Union we read that the aim of the organization is fraternal help of fellow-countrymen, the spreading and development of the spirit of brotherhood and of mutual confidence, the maintenance of Polonism, the fostering of civilization and Christian morality. How did the Union fulfil these aims? . . .

One of the most beloved causes, the object of the sincerest devotion of the Union is education in parochial and higher schools. . . . The Union has always been deeply interested in young people. Every year many young members and societies of youth join the organization. The age has been lowered to 14 years. Former diets used to establish special commissions for propaganda among the youth—all this because of the justifiable fear that the second generation unless attracted to Polonism in early youth will be lost for the national cause. . . .

Another branch of the work of our organization in the American Polonia was and is the maintenance of the patriotic spirit in people with the help of national celebrations and of the cult of our historical holidays and solemnities. . . .

Energetically and steadily the Union has counteracted all attempts of Americanization from whatever source they came. As an example we shall mention the characteristic affairs of 1901 when. Bishop Eis of Marquette, Michigan, issued an order to teach religion in English in the parish schools, and a few other American bishops imitated his order. These orders, however, provoked a series of protests from the clergy and the people. The Poles protested particularly strongly and among them the Union was one of the first to raise its voice. In a special memorial sent to the Apostolic delegate in Washington the reasons for the protest were set forth and the standpoint of the Poles was explained. The latter respect the authority of the Church but they have fled across the ocean for the sake of their national liberties which they could not obtain in their own country. Will they be deprived of their native language here in a free country? . . .

Among other affairs of the American Polonia in which the Union took a very prominent part was the effort to obtain equal rights for the Polish-American clergy in the hierarchy of the Church. The Poles have for a long time constituted a numerical and economic power among the Catholics of America, but even now they do not have proportionate representation among the higher Catholic clergy. . . . This affair was taken up by the Polish Catholic congresses, of which we had three, whose executive departments publicly and privately worked actively at Rome in order to break the prejudices and the opposition of Irish and German bishops. The Union fostered whole-heartedly the Polish action, helped, for instance, to pay the cost of the delegation sent to Rome in this affair and later solemnly received the special Papal delegate sent here to investigate the conditions. . . .

Everybody knows . . . that in the ruling spheres of the United States there is a strong tendency to limit immigration. . . . We defend ourselves as we can against these limitations of freedom of entrance into the country of Washington, which was guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, and the Union has been energetically and efficiently participating in this defense. [It sent memorials and delegations to Washington.]

Ibid., Ch. X, "The Union and Polish Affairs," pp. 242-248, 260-263, 259.

40. In order to complete the picture we must add a few details about the rôle of the Union in general Polish affairs and its relation to the fatherland. Though we should sincerely like to write as much and as well as possible about our activities in this field, which should be considered the most important and essential since they concern the Polish cause itself, although we should be glad to relate at length the merits of our institution, impartiality compels us to confess that we must limit ourselves to a series of passing manifestations, not very important in reality because not systematically aiming at a stable policy for the future.

In saying this we hasten to mention that we have in mind not only the Union. We speak in this case about the whole "fourth province," the whole American Polonia, which until now has not been very productive for the Polish cause though there are already beginnings, promising a better state of affairs in the near future. Up to the present everything which the American Polonia has done for Poland has certainly been very well meant, very sympathetic but without permanent value. They were only sporadic and isolated manifestations, a few relief offerings, some expressions of indignation and sympathy for the lot of our fellow-countrymen in the fatherland, a few attempts to help arranged without sufficient preparation—that is all which can in general be said about the service of American Poles to their mother-country.

Ibid., Ch. XI, "The Union and the Affairs of the Fatherland," pp. 283, 284.

41. [The following article was written from the standpoint of the clerical party of which the Roman Catholic Union is the leading institution, but seems to express more clearly than other writers dare yet to do the now prevalent tendency of Polish-American society in general.]

On the eve of the second general diet of the Polish emigrants in America, which will meet next week in Buffalo, N. Y., we wish to express briefly and clearly our opinion about the most important question that this diet is going to decide, the question whether our National Department here should continue to exist or should be closed. . . . We do not see any need of dragging in this organization, which is wholly artificial and not based

on the real relation of the forces active in Polish-American society. In view of this we express here the opinion of our paper that . . . the National Department should honorably close its existence and disband. In expressing this opinion we speak not only for ourselves, not only for this one paper but for numerous masses of our society, for many circles of our citizens. . . . The political situation is now entirely different from that which was the background for calling the department to life and action. None of the needs for which the Department was created exist now either in the political or the economic, or in any other domain.

The political affairs will be taken entirely away from us and should be taken away in order that now when our state exists and must carefully guard its political dignity its course be not troubled by our dilettantism, which has caused considerable harm even during the period when we were doing our best work here. Politics will henceforth be conducted by our fatherland and its government and its foreign representative, the Polish embassy in Washington. We shall not mix into political matters and shall have not the slightest right to do so. Up to the present America could tolerate our Polonistic tendencies because they were based on the political program of Wilson with reference to Poland. But now, when the fundamental Polish ambitions have been realized, our rôle automatically ends and returns to its proper field. It should be clearly recognized that we here must be officially first of all Americans—of Polish origin and with sincere Polish sympathies, but Americans; and this excludes any politics which are not purely American.

In economic and humanitarian matters the field will also rapidly diminish. The relief activity is approaching its end. For the humanitarian work another kind of activity, much more important and more valuable morally and materially, should be substituted—we mean activity in such domains as commerce and industry. But for this the Department will not be needed. Up to the present it has done absolutely nothing in these domains and its Commission of Commerce has remained literally a "paper commission." This group of activities will be the object of the Polish consuls, who will deal directly with Polish firms, co-operative organizations, etc. . . .

There is little to be said about other affairs. There may be something still to do about influencing American opinion in favor of Poland, but in this line unhappily all the former activities of the National Department were completely insignificant, and the results reached by it are infinitesimal. We shall not discuss whether this was due to lack of forces, of abilities or of will. The fact is that this field has been fatally neglected and in many cases to the great detriment of our cause (the Jewish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian questions). . . .

We maintain thus our opinion that at the diet the rôle of the National Department should be declared finished and this organization dissolved. We shall have to go without it in the future, and we shall be able to do it. . . . We possess in our Polonia powerful and well stabilized organizations. These after resigning the wide fields of political and social activity mentioned above will be very well able to manage the particular local affairs. The work will be certainly at any rate in accordance with the general program of regeneration of our national life. Our patriotic bonds, our sincerely Polish spirit will remain in us, will not be abolished by the abolition of the Department, and peaceful, noble emulation in the social and national work will benefit both American Polonia and Poland.

[Karol Wachtel] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, Nov. 8, 1919.

PART II
DISORGANIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

CHAPTER I

DEMORALIZATION

Demoralization is the decay of the personal life-organization of an individual member of a social group.[1] When studying the evolution of the peasant communities in Poland we have seen that individual demoralization is not in any regular and unmistakable way connected with social disorganization, *i. e.*, with the decay of existing social rules of behavior and institutions. Its existence in a social group certainly does indicate that the rules and institutions prevailing in this group at a given moment are in some respects inadequate, do not correspond to the real attitudes of the members and cannot furnish the latter with a life-organization adapted to their individual temperaments and at the same time capable of regulating their behavior in accordance with the demands of social life in the given conditions. And there is no doubt either that prevalent social disorganization, in those periods when the old system which controlled more or less adequately the behavior of the group members is decaying so rapidly that the development of a new social system cannot keep pace with this process of decadence, is particularly favorable for the growth of individual demoralization, whereas the prevalence of social reconstruction—a new system taking the place of the old even before the latter has completely decayed—is a factor of moral progress. But differences between individuals account for the fact

[1] *Cf.* Vol. III, Introduction, and Vol. IV, Introduction to Part I.

that, even in the face of a rapid disorganization, many members of the group are still able to preserve an old or create a new life-organization of their own, and even in the midst of intense reconstruction many members are yet unable to adapt their life-organization to the new social demands and remain or become demoralized. Furthermore, the effects of social disorganization and social reconstruction on individual morality depend on the relative superiority of the new system over the old as instrument of control of the individual by society, or *vice versa*. Thus in Poland the development of the new system has been accompanied by a general moral progress of the peasant class which more than counterbalanced—at least up to the time of the war—the demoralization accompanying the decay of the old institutions. In America, on the contrary, the moral progress due to the new organization created by the Polish immigrants is much less general and intense than the demoralization resulting from the fact that the old rules are losing their influence upon the individual isolated from his original social milieu. The new system here, even at its best, would be unable to control individual behavior as efficiently as did the old system in Poland, and thus the surprisingly rapid development of new institutions in Polish-American society, though checking the pace of demoralization, cannot prevent the average moral level of immigrants in general from slowly but unmistakably declining instead of rising, nor does it provide the society with adequate means of dealing with such radical cases of demoralization as those which we shall study presently.

The significance of our material bearing on the demoralization of the Poles in this country will be clearer if we always remember that all those attitudes which

enable the individual to lead a normal social life are directly or indirectly the result of a long series of social influences which have acted upon the original stock of his temperament and fashioned it into a character, that in other words these attitudes are *institutional* rather than spontaneous. We shall find overwhelming evidence that the natural tendencies of an individual, unless controlled and organized by social education, inevitably lead to a behavior which must be judged as abnormal from the social standpoint. This is true of all types and stages of intellectual and moral development. But it must be further realized that an individual who, like the peasant, has been brought up as a member of a permanent and coherent primary-group and accustomed to rely for all regulation of conduct upon habit and the immediate suggestions and reactions of his social milieu is much more helpless when his milieu fails to give him stimuli sufficiently continuous, varied and coercive for socially normal action than an individual who, like a city intellectual, has been accustomed to be satisfied with such superficial social stimulations as can be obtained from mere acquaintances or business contacts, has been trained to foresee and to be influenced by distant and indirect social consequences of his behavior, knows how to regulate his conduct consciously in accordance with general and abstract schemes and supplements any insufficiency of present social influences by personal ideals which society has helped him to develop in the past. The peasant immigrant is able to maintain his moral status in spite of the weakened social response and control only because of the power of mental habits. When a strong set of active associations has once been formed, even a weak social stimulus is sufficient to provoke the usual kind of behavior; a letter from home, the

response or recognition of a friend, even the mere remembrance of past social influences may be for a time almost as efficient in keeping the individual within the limits of normality as the consciousness of a direct social control by his old primary-group. But when the habit is broken, because the individual's social education was insufficient in the old country or because his temperament is more than usually refractory to the given social influences or because the stress of new conditions proves too strong, the average immigrant lacks the necessary preparation to construct for himself a new life-organization with such elements as abstract individualistic morality, religious mysticism and the legal and economic systems which he finds in America. In order to reorganize his life on a new basis he needs a primary-group as strong and coherent as the one he left in the old country. The Polish-American society gives him a few new schemes of life, but not enough to cover all of his activities. A certain lowering of his moral level is thus inevitable. Though it does not always lead to active demoralization, to anti-social behavior, it manifests itself at least in what we may call passive demoralization, a partial or a general weakening of social interests, a growing narrowness or shallowness of the individual's social life.

Of course the second generation, unless brought in direct and continuous contact with better aspects of American life than those with which the immigrant community is usually acquainted, degenerates further still, both because the parents have less to give than they had received themselves in the line of social principles and emotions and because the children brought up in American cities have more freedom and less respect for their parents. The second generation is better adapted

intellectually to the practical conditions of American life, but their moral horizon grows still narrower on the average and their social interests still shallower. One might expect to find fewer cases of active demoralization, of anti-social behavior, than in the first generation which has to pass through the crisis of adaptation to new conditions. And yet it is a well-known fact that even the number of crimes is proportionately much larger among the children of immigrants than among the immigrants themselves.

It is a characteristic consequence of primary-group life, where all the various lines of activity—economic, hedonistic, religious, etc.—are continually intermingled and the rules referring to them constitute one inextricable complex of tradition, that individual disorganization seldom limits itself to any one domain but embraces gradually the whole personality. We have already seen in our earlier volumes that when an individual rejects any social tradition of his group all other traditions usually lose their hold upon him, so close is the association between all of them. A logically motivated preservation of some traditional elements after the exclusion of others is possible only when the primary-group member is under the influence of culturally higher leaders. And this phenomenon is even more marked in those cases of individual disorganization which we shall now study. An immigrant of the first generation who becomes demoralized in any particular line—family life, economic relations, community relations—soon loses moral self-control in general, all his institutional attitudes are more or less dissolved. The situation is somewhat less radical in the second generation. Thus, we may find family and community attitudes disorganized but economic tendencies more or less

normal for a time—but even there regress or progress ultimately extends over the whole field of cultural life.

Thus, nearly every case which we have so far met involves, at least in an incipient form, most of the common varieties of demoralization. A strict and purely theoretic classification of our material on the basis of its content is therefore impossible. But each of the cases which we are taking into account here has been originally presented with reference to some specific practical problem and thus in each of them a certain particular line of demoralization stands in the foreground. These cases come from the archives of various American institutions which divide among them the social work with immigrants according to their special purposes.[1] Each institution has, of course, concentrated its attention chiefly on that kind of practical situations which it is specially meant to solve. By following this practical division of material we shall be able to treat each line of demoralization as subject-matter of separate problems, taking into account, of course, its connection with other lines. We do not feel entitled to give any concrete advice or criticism as to the way of handling the given situations in practice, since our object is theoretic, not applied sociology. But practice can be efficient only if based on a theoretic analysis of the causes of those phenomena which it tries to counteract, and we hope therefore that from our study useful practical indications will be drawn by others.

In accordance with this program we shall distinguish the following problems:

1. Demoralization of adults: a) Economic depen-

[1] The institutions of Chicago were selected for study because Chicago is the largest Polish center in the United States. We have preserved in this part the spelling of Christian names found in the archives of these institutions, but changed the family names, except in criminal cases.

dency (cases from the archives of the United Charities); b) break of the conjugal relation (materials chiefly of the Legal Aid Society); c) murder (Criminal Court and Coroner's office).

2. Demoralization of children (materials from the Juvenile Court): a) vagrancy and dishonesty of boys; b) sexual demoralization of girls.

These problems do not exhaust the total field of demoralization of the immigrants, but other forms are not so significant and representative from either the practical or the theoretic standpoint. Economic dependency is the most important and typical form of economic demoralization; the break of the conjugal relation is the central situation in the disorganization of the family; murder is the most radical expression of anti-social attitudes by which the decay of social solidarity and of the dependence on social rules of behavior manifests itself; vagrancy and dishonesty of boys and sexual disorganization of girls raise two distinct and equally fundamental difficulties concerning the adaptation of the young generation to the American social system.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY

In investigating the economic situation of American Poles we are struck much less by the cases of economic demoralization which we find than by the fact that these cases are relatively so rare. The change from the old economic system of the peasant, based on family property or on the "servant" position, to the American system is so radical that a certain type and degree of economic demoralization would necessarily result in every case if there were no factors counteracting the effect which would otherwise be produced by the new conditions acting on the pre-existing attitudes.

The most important feature of the conditions of economic life of the Polish peasant at home as compared with those of the immigrant in this country is the high stability of the former, naturally leading to the formation of steady habits. This stability is, of course, particularly prominent in the case of the small farmer whose economic plans are determined in their main outlines for many years ahead.[1] But the manor-servant with his yearly contract and his chance of staying all his life in one place has also an economic life-organization which, while it offers no prospects of important advance and does not encourage any extraordinary efforts, prevents him at least from pauperization. The agricul-

[1] It is a characteristic sign of the stability of agricultural life in Poland as against America that the usual term of a contract for a farm tenantship in Poland is 12 years and, except for very small lots of land, no one would consider a yearly contract.

tural day-laborer, the trained handworker, the factory-workman are, of course, more subject to changes and uncertainty; and yet even in these lines habits are more easily formed in Poland than in America, for changes of the line of occupation are rare and there is little choice of opportunities. The immediate social environment, where its control is still strong, contributes by its continual demand for economic stability to keep the individual or the marriage group within the limits of normality, however low the standards of normal living may be in a given class. It is true, on the other hand, that when economic demoralization has already occurred the same factors make a return to normal life very difficult, but the influences leading to demoralization are much less general and powerful than in this country.

The immigrant, unless he settles on land, finds himself suddenly without any definite and permanent social scheme for economic activities. His "job" is seldom in his old line and he can change it any time and start on something quite different. Often the work is harder and always more monotonous than what he has been used to do, so that he is seldom if ever kept within a certain line by the attraction of the work itself. There is no security attached to any job; he may lose it from week to week and can only seldom base on its continuation any plans for the distant future. On the other hand, he is not very much afraid of losing it because he feels sure of finding something else sooner or later. He sees also that he can make debts much more easily than in the old country, both because of his increased earning power and because of the wider use of credit in American society. And these debts mean less because it is easier for him to escape the responsibility.

This whole set of conditions—to which must be added, as the first disturbing influence, the very fact of leaving the old economic status in search of new opportunities—acts upon the former tendency acquired from tradition and early experience to regard economic situations as essentially permanent and future possibilities as limited to a certain narrow field. The effect is the opposite tendency to live as if economic life were devoid of any general and stable schemes or principles, "from hand to mouth." This effect is, however, usually counteracted by other causes. The most important of these is the desire of the immigrant to acquire property by saving, which, as we have seen, is prevalent among Polish immigrants in this country. At first the property is thought of as a farm or shop in Poland; later as a house, shop or bank-account in America. If the conditions are propitious for the satisfaction of this desire, *i. e.,* if the immigrant earns enough to increase his savings continuously and he feels himself advancing to the status of a property owner, a new kind of economic life-organization, resulting from a permanent economic ideal, substitutes itself for the old one, which was a matter of habit due to the stability of external conditions. Later the ideal of property may change into that of a progressive increase of income or of a rise in the hierarchy of employments, and if the change is gradual the danger of economic demoralization can be completely avoided. The social opinion of Polish-American communities is the second important factor counterbalancing the demoralizing action of American conditions. The immigrant who comes to an older, coherent community finds certain already established social schemes of economic life which, though they differ from those

he knew and followed in the old country, are relatively easily understood and imitated.

But if those positive influences are neutralized by some other factors, or if additional causes reinforce the effect of the primary disorganizing influence—the relatively unsettled conditions of American labor—demoralization is bound to follow, and having once affected the old generation it communicates itself very easily to the young. Our documents will show what these secondary causes of decay are.

42. *Pichor Family.* Andrew Pichor was born in Russian Poland and married there in 1894. He emigrated to America in 1901. In 1914 he applied for help at the office of the United Charities. [Was out of work, rent unpaid.] . . .

"October 24, 1914, Mr. Pichor in office in a very much intoxicated state. Could not understand his Polish or English. His face was disfigured by small-pox marks. . . . Wanted the rent; was greatly excited and did not want to leave the office. Visitor called the police station but the officers did not come and visitor had to push Mr. Pichor out of doors. Mr. Pichor came back 2 or 3 times; sat in the waiting room and finally fell asleep. When he awoke he left the office very quietly. . . . [Later he explained some friends had treated him.] Asked to be excused and constantly repeated it was not his fault. He gave addresses of several foundries where he had previously been employed but could not find them in the telephone book, so gave him 2 carfare-tickets and told him to get right addresses and bring them to office. Said he was out of work 4 months and family had existed on loans from friends. Had very few relatives. Had a brother who had loaned him $10. . . . .

"November 6, 1914, found Mrs. Pichor and children in almost entirely dark rooms which were filthy. Woman looked stupid and did not seem willing to give any information as to relatives, income and man's behavior. . . . Asked her if she would not accept institutional care but she did not seem to understand what visitor was saying. Later stated her place was at home with her husband.

"November 7, 1914, Mr. Pichor in office very much intoxicated. Sent him home. November 10, 1914, Mrs. Pichor in office asking for food. . . . November 25, 1914, Mr. Pichor in office asking for rent which is 2 months in arrears. [In again 3 days later in intoxicated condition. Institutional care alone is offered.] . . . January 27, 1915, Mrs. Pichor in office. Mr. Pichor has trouble with his leg; cannot walk. Owe 5 months' rent. February 20, 1915, Mr. Pichor in office. Paid him 50c for relief work. Was elated to have earned some money and said he would buy some liniment he needed. . . . [They continue to call and ask shoes, clothes, food, etc. Helped a little.]

"April 8, 1915, County supplies are cut off. Mrs. Pichor continually asks work for Mr. Pichor. Says he looks for work but can't find it. He used to get $3 a day. April 26, 1915, Mrs. Pichor in office stating that Mr. Pichor tried to poison himself yesterday. A friend came in and notified police and Mr. Pichor was rushed to County Hospital. Later brought home. Mrs. Pichor is very worried as to Mr. Pichor's condition as he cannot eat, cannot swallow, his throat being very sore. A druggist sold Mr. Pichor the poison. Druggist said Mr. Pichor told him he wanted it for a horse [relief given]. . . . Mr. Pichor was sitting up and is still unable to eat. Had a big burn on his neck. Said he was only sorry they did not wait a half hour longer to take him to the hospital as then his troubles would be over. Said it was the idea of his wife and children going to an institution that drove him to it. . . . Seemed despondent and did not seem to feel that he had done wrong. Mrs. Pichor said that Mr. Pichor had not had anything to drink for several weeks, was not intoxicated at the time. Asked Mrs. Pichor to come to the office if she decided to accept institutional care. . . .

"May 4, 1915, Mr. and Mrs. Pichor and children in office asking milk or rent. Mr. Pichor threatened to drown the family if he could not get work. [Work for a charitable institution was given.] May 12, 1915, gave one-half acre land for gardening through the Bureau of Public Welfare. . . .

"May 14, 1915, Mrs. Pichor was utterly stupid. Could give no information as to ages or back history. Says she is 10 years old, never went to school [which seems to have been true, although her family were fairly well off farmers], does not know

when she was married. . . . May 20, 1915, Mrs. Pichor asking work for Mr. Pichor. Is afraid that he will commit suicide as he told his boy he will not have any father. . . . May 26, 1915, Mr. Pichor says he has continual trouble with Mrs. Pichor as she has no memory and cannot be taught anything. Does not know [difference between] bills; all are a dollar. She has very often passed $5 for $1. [United Charities had Mrs. Pichor examined and found she was a middle grade imbecile, 'clearly an institutional case.' They continue to ask work and carfare to their garden plot. Carfare only is given.]

"June 2, 1915, Mr. Pichor [was] examined and found normal. The doctor tried to examine Walenty but could not do very much with him. June 11, 1915, Mrs. Pichor was arrested last Saturday morning about 5 o'clock while picking coal from the tracks. A man who was there was taking coal from the car and the policeman arrested him and took her along, too. About 10 o'clock her husband became anxious and came to look for her and got her released on his promise to buy coal and wood hereafter. [Mr. Pichor said Mrs. Pichor spent for vegetables for the garden the $2.50 given them for food as she didn't like to see land go to waste. She was weeding the garden herself.]

"July 12, 1915, Mrs. Pichor said she would not go on summer outing as Mr. Pichor could not get along with the children. July 15, 1915, Mrs. Pichor says they have had no food for 2 days. Mr. Pichor tried to commit suicide yesterday with the butcher knife which Mrs. Pichor took from him [$1 grocery order given]. . . .

"July 23, 1915, Mrs. Pichor in office with letter from Mr. Pichor: 'I beg your pardon for charity for me, that is, for the ice but neither I nor my wife nor my children will or can eat ice, first, because we shall not nourish ourselves with it and secondly, because we might catch cold. So I decided to send back such a help which is not good for use. I would ask for such a help that I might nourish myself together with my wife and children and those tickets that I received for ice I gave them back to the office of Mr. Jablonski. My signature, Andrew Pichor. I now work for $1 a day.' She could not tell where he

was working, only knows he loads barrels on to a wagon. Started work the 20th.

"July 30, 1915, Mr. Pichor in office. Had only 4 days' work. Could not give name of place where he worked. . . . Will be unable to pay anything on rent. . . .

"Mr. and Mrs. Pichor were repeatedly warned to weed their garden and care for it by irrigation, etc. They had showed interest at first but were later careless. Mr. Pichor came out there drunk on several occasions and it was discovered he was selling his vegetables for drink. The plot was therefore taken from him, what vegetables there were to be given to Mrs. Pichor. When he found his plot had been taken away he went home and to relieve his anger beat his wife so that she could scarcely walk and gave her a black eye. He came with her and the children to the United Charities. He was in an ugly mood and threatening to kill Mr. Conley or Mr. Thompson of the Public Welfare Bureau and to commit suicide out at the plot, taking his wife along as witness. He refused to listen to reason so the visitor had him arrested. He was sentenced to $25 and costs to be spent in the hospital of the House of Correction taking the drink cure, Judge Labuy who sentenced him is familiar with Polish psychology and he thought the man was not perfectly normal. When Mr. Pichor was searched at the Police Station he was found to have $2.50 though he had represented himself as penniless. Mrs. Pichor did not know where he got it. Mr. Pichor's brother paid his fine and got him out of the House of Correction. He said he thought Pichor ought to be out while there was a chance for work. The United Charities then told him the responsibility for the family was on him as he had frustrated their plan of having him thoroughly examined. Mr. Pichor did get work and apparently kept it for the last record under date of October 18, 1915, is: "Mrs. Pichor in office complaining that everything was taken from the garden. States husband is working earning $2 a day. Does not drink as much as he did."

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

43. *Nowicki Family.* Mr. and Mrs. Nowicki were married in Pittsburg in 1891. Both had been born in Poland and spent their youths in unfortunate circumstances. His father died when

he was still small and he and his mother worked on a farm. He had only about 4 weeks' schooling in his life. He came to America at the age of 18. She also came to this country when still young. Her mother was a drunkard and her early years were embittered by the shame of this and by her father's bad temper. Her married life was from the beginning unhappy. She went to live with his mother, taking meals with her own family. Her husband deserted after one week and after his return failed to support her. For months at a time he worked irregularly, coming home every few days only and always at night. It was several years before they went housekeeping for themselves and during the first 3 years of this they were evicted 6 times for nonpayment of rent. A large family was born to them, Constance in 1892, Stanley in 1894, John 1895, Stella 1896, Sophie 1902, Cecilia 1904, Willie 1907, a child that died in 1910, and Anton 1912.

"October 25, 1910, woman in [United Charities] office . . . had come to Chicago 4 months ago from Pittsburg. Man is still in Pittsburg. She came away because man did not support her as he should and she felt that his influence with the children was bad. The 3 oldest children are working supporting the family. . . . Is not asking help but wants advice in regard to Constance. . . . One month ago she went to a party with Frank Rola, a young man who works [where she works]. She stayed so late at the party that at 4.30 A.M. her mother went after her. . . . Two weeks ago she left home [but later came back]. . . .

"September 21, 1912, Mr. Nowicki in office. [Lost place running elevator because it made him sick. Is living with family and asks for work.] . . . Says he likes work but gets nervous standing. Wants work as porter. . . .

"September 26, 1912, visited Mrs. Nowicki. Mr. Nowicki has a temporary job. . . . Stanley and John both work for Siegel Cooper Co. on wagons earning $7.50 a week. Constance is married [not to Rola]. . . . John wants to be a priest and studied 2 years ago in the Academy of the Holy Spirit toward that end. The family can no longer afford to keep him in such a school. Stanley wants to do designing or art work and has taken his work today with him to apply for entrance into some art school, she thinks it is the Chicago Art Institute. Both boys plan to go

to some night school this winter. . . . With the $10 a week which the man earns they could get along but she wishes to help by taking in work which she can do and still care for the 7 weeks' old baby. A few months ago most of their furniture and all their winter clothing was burned. . . . When she was in Pittsburg she bought a cow and sold milk and later bought a second cow and ran a milk dairy. This was too hard for her with the increase of the family, so they bought a grocery store for $700; but she trusted customers too much and they were forced to sell the business for $300. She asks for night work providing it would come at such hours that she could be at home to see the boys are not on the streets. . . . The family are intelligent and attractive."

The United Charities received an anonymous letter saying: "I got to ask for help. I have no money and can't tell nothing about that to my husband because he gets sick and we have nothing to eat supper. [The children are sick.]" Mrs. Nowicki wrote later that the above was written by Stella who forgot to sign.

"December 10, 1912, Mr. Connors in office saying this family separated on Sunday. Woman had told Mr. Nowicki she could not stand his abusive talk any longer. The man wanted the boys to put him out of the house so he would not have to pay anything toward their support, but they said they would never do such a thing. . . . [Man returned after two weeks and had operation for rupture.] Does not receive county rations and asks not to be reported as they will inquire of all the neighbors about them and this will make her so ashamed. . . . She says he is very much better around the house now. [She writes many letters to the United Charities begging for food, clothing, etc.]

"February 12, 1913, Mr. Connors in office. Said he had gotten John a very good place but he left it and ran away from home. . . .

"August 21, 1913, Stanley has been working in a photograph gallery at $6 a week and going to Lane School at night. He wants to be a cartoonist. Dr. Tarkowski had advised him to quit his present work as he thinks it is harmful. John is in Nebraska. Do not know where he is working. . . . He writes occasionally but sends no help. Stella is attending the Holy

Family Academy; her way paid by some society of ladies. . . . [She has musical ability.]

"December 27, 1913, clerk came from Father Sowinski's church again [for rent] and Mrs. Nowicki is very distressed. Says she would rather not have food than not pay the rent and have the neighbors know about it. Mrs. Nowicki is living in flat owned by the Polish Church. . . . Her daughter has a flat which connects with hers by an inner door. The house was well furnished: they have a piano. Mr. Nowicki is not well and his daughter thinks that the only thing he could do would be light work on a farm. They want him to get a piece of land such as is being colonized by the Polish people around Evanston. They could buy a cow on payments and make money from the milk. . . . They did not want help if it meant United Charities would go to the priest. Father Sowinski is a friend of Stanley and they feel that it would make Stanley feel terrible to have other people know how poor they are. The mother tries to conceal their poverty from him as much as possible. . . .

"January 29, 1914, Mr. Nowicki told an artist in the Tower Bldg. where he is employed as janitor about Stanley. He secured a place for him in the Art Engraving Co. [no salary but good experience] and arranged for him to go to the Art Institute. He pays $1 a week there outside of what materials cost him."

Mrs. Nowicki finally begged United Charities for help as Mr. Nowicki lost his job. "February 20, 1914, visited Father Sowinski. Did not know the family personally. Had had complaints that Mrs. Nowicki quarrelled with the neighbors. Thinks she is the nagging type. Will wait awhile for the rent but 'not too long.' Felt that Stanley's first duty is to his people even though he has an opportunity for an education. Visited. . . . Mr. Nowicki came home yesterday but did not stay. Mrs. Nowicki scolded him constantly. She thinks he is lazy or else 'out of his head.' Wife very anxious to have him examined. Constance said he was too 'long handed' and that was the reason he usually lost his places. Feels that John went wrong because of him. He is now in the penitentiary at Lancaster, Nebraska. He will get out in April or May. They had letters from the warden saying he is caring for him and that he is not a bad boy. [He was sentenced for a term from 1 to 10

years for entering a farmer's house and taking some money and clothing. He was wandering around with 2 other young men looking for work and came to this house which was empty.]

March 6, 1914, . . . phoned Mr. Raines [the artist] to inquire concerning place where Stanley worked. He is quite disgusted with family. Two little girls have been up to see him, also Mrs. Nowicki and her married daughter. He feels that they are willing to be dependent on charity and that they have hard luck stories. Mr. Nowicki was discharged from the Tower Bldg. because he cleaned very superficially. Mr. Raines feels that he is decidedly lazy and that there is nothing particularly wrong with him physically. . . . Stanley is not persistent enough. [Others speak highly of Stanley and of family.]

"April 1, 1914, [a Polish married woman took the case instead of the American girl who had been acting as visitor.] Mrs. Nowicki at first was unwilling to talk of her trouble. Later she said she did not know what steps to take or where to go for advice; felt that she could not very long go along the way she did because of her health and state of mind, restless in thinking of her children's future. . . . [Her husband's habit of stealing whether he needs it or not had always worried her.] Mr. Nowicki besides this has immoral habits—has no respect whatever for the children's ages and innocence. Mrs. Nowicki suffers agony of shame in trying to shield from children's knowledge facts that their father does not care to. When in Pittsburg a friend of Mr. Nowicki's attacked Stella, Mr. Nowicki did not think anything of it and invited him home again. He drinks a good deal and Mrs. Nowicki is sure he is not in his right senses. . . ."

Mrs. Nowicki thinks if children go to the Academy instead of public school they will not divulge what they knew or heard at home because they are closely watched by the nuns. She is worried about the children's ill health which she says is due to poor nourishment. For years in Pittsburg when Mr. Nowicki had not worked and was not able to steal, he would wait in stations when Pullman cars stopped and take garbage which they emptied and bring this home to the children. For weeks they sometimes did not eat anything but that. . . . Mrs. Nowicki stated that Mr. Nowicki is skillful at all kinds of work and he

could always get plenty of it but he would not try to get it. . . . When about September 20, 1912, their clothing and furniture burned it was Mr. Nowicki who set the fire and Stella knew about it. They had received $100 from the insurance company. . . . She states she could never go through court proceedings against Mr. Nowicki. . . . Mrs. Nowicki seems to be of a most nervous and weak disposition, also much worn out physically. . . .

"April 23, 1914, Stanley in office. Said Constance moved suddenly. Had not paid her rent for several months as she said it was no use and that she would prefer to have the money to pay on a place that they were buying. [Mr. Nowicki was living with her.] Stanley says that she constantly received stolen goods from her father. . . .

"May 4, 1914, John and Stanley in office. Mr. Nowicki had gone to Nebraska [walked all the way, he said] to have John released. . . . John seems a bright chap, strong and healthy-looking and speaks in favor of Mr. Nowicki. Blames his mother for being neither patient nor tactful. [Constance quarrelled with her husband. Mr. Nowicki was taken to court. John entered United States army, believing that was the only way of keeping straight.]"

A clipping from the Chicago *Tribune* told of the death of Mrs. Nowicki. Believing her family of 8 children was large enough for her to look after she performed an abortion on herself. Blood poisoning set in and she soon died. She was 40 years old. Mr. Nowicki did not take proper care of the children. Stella was sick in the County Hospital and generally unmanageable. She jumped out of a second story window at the hospital and broke her ankles. She said she did not know why she did it, probably was neurasthenic. The younger children were sent to an institution but Constance took them away and returned them to her father. The doctor reports Stella as a "mental deviate but not subnormal. Thinks she is a pathological liar with a strong core of egotism, a great desire for sympathy and a certain cleverness in gaining her ends." "Logic, bribes, persuasion had failed to induce her to submit to treatment. She would unfasten weights and tear off bandages while in hospital and will not come back now for massage" which would be necessary to keep her from being crippled for life.

Sophie died of heart trouble. Stanley joined the Illinois Infantry. Mr. Nowicki married again. The step-mother was mean and selfish and Mr. Nowicki neglected his children. The Polish visitor thought the secret of the downward tendency of the children was the constant quarrelling between their father and mother on a sexual ground. The children continually heard and saw things they should not have known about. She believed the father actually attacked Stella once when Mrs. Nowicki was in the hospital.

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

44. *Judziewicz Family.* The United Charities were first asked to call on Mrs. Judziewicz in September, 1909, 5 days after she had given birth to a boy, Henry. They found her up and trying to do her housework. She said she and her husband had both been born in German Poland and had come to this country in 1896. There were 4 other children, Anton born in 1901, Leo 1904, Lillie 1906, Max 1907. Mr. Judziewicz had frequently deserted but returned and insisted on living again with his wife, until upon the occasion of his last desertion, 6 months before Henry's birth, she had procured a divorce. Mrs. Judziewicz, who was at this time 30 years old, was tubercular. When she obtained the divorce she had expected to marry the boarder who was father of Henry.

"September 19, 1910, landlord in office to ask rent. . . . Says woman is a very untidy housekeeper and children do a great deal of damage about the premises. Landlord met woman who had just come from hospital where she had gone to take her youngest child home as it was not going to live and woman preferred it die at home.

"September 21, woman in office asking help with funeral expenses as baby died 6.30 A.M. Her brother will buy lot. . . . Woman *does not want county* called in. Says church will not help. Two teachers gave $5 and some friends $2. She had gone from house to house begging the rest. . . . House was extremely dirty and children playing in the same room where the corpse was lying. Woman seemed utterly indifferent perhaps because she was so tired. . . .

"September 23, 1910, woman in office for pension [$2.50 a week]. Had been walking the streets begging for money for

baby's funeral. Had gotten only a few cents. Absolutely refused to have County bury the child. . . .

"October 17, 1910, woman in office demanding more aid. States in defiance that doctor orders her to eat eggs and much butter which United Charities must pay for. When told no more aid could be given until next day (regular pension day) she became sullen. Has quite settled into way of expecting U. C. to meet every demand she presents. The fact that her rent and milk bill are cared for by United Charities seems rather insignificant in her eyes. . . .

"February 23, 1911, visiting nurse in office. Woman has been in bed 4 weeks and though to the nurse she appears very normal she evidently believes herself a very sick woman. . . . [United Charities refused to help her unless she went to hospital. She refused and said she would beg if not helped. She begged from neighbors for awhile but after a month she yielded and went to the County Hospital. Her mother took the children.]

"April 26, 1911, visiting nurse in office to report woman home from County Hospital and staying with brother until she can find rooms. Says she could not eat at hospital and doctor allowed her to leave. . . . Nurse conferred with brother who says relatives are willing to help woman by caring for children although they are thoroughly disgusted with woman whom he insists is worthless. Says when man was home woman insisted on keeping boarders and that one of them is the father of the last baby.

"May 2, 1911, phoned Home for Friendless. Anton and Leo are there. The little girls were not sent to them. . . . Found woman at her mother's home sick in bed, very weak. Asks that United Charities get rooms and start her housekeeping as her mother does not want her. . . . Advised her to go to Dunning and stay until September 1 and then United Charities will look for rooms for her. Woman cried and said she would like to get her children together, that another boy kicked her boy and she did not believe they were well cared for at Home for Friendless. Advised her not to phone for visiting nurse or for United Charities until she makes up her mind to go to Dunning.

"July 31, 1911, woman in office with letter from St. Eliza-

beth Clinic asking general assistance. She is living with her children. Works in a tailor shop earning $2.50 to $3 a week. During the day children go to her mother's house.

"August 25, 1911, Miss Foley, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, phones. Does not see how United Charities can do otherwise than assume woman's support. Says their feeling about the house is entirely different from ours. No worse than hundreds of other homes in the district. . . . Says she knows woman has been impudent and that she has believed United Charities must help but feels her spirit is broken now and says the children are remarkably healthy. Says woman has Graves disease which would make her irritable and nervous. Also has some complication of the thyroid gland. Cannot live much longer, and is really a hospital case but she refuses to consider going.

"Visited man's mother; could talk no English. . . . She spoke very hesitatingly of her daughter-in-law . . . said she did not see very much and knew almost nothing about her. Is unwilling to give any information. Said she could not do anything for her and was as disagreeable as she could be. Visited woman. Found her sitting on porch finishing pants, sewing as hard as she could. Smiled and was glad to see visitor but seemed quite nervous and unstrung, like a frightened child who was utterly cowed by what she had been through. Spoke anxiously about the rent and was so sure she could take care of the living if she could only have the rent paid. Pleaded that she would not be sent to Hospital, that she could not do anything but think of her children. She knew she would die if she had to go. Said children were good and house was clean. Insisted on visitor seeing all the rooms which were kept in very good condition. Said she makes between 50 and 60c a day sewing and that she is working. . . . Says her relatives cannot or will not help her. [She stayed with her mother but landlord objected to so many children.] Sister loaned money for first month's rent: she had to return this. . . .

"September 5, 1911, woman in office. Could get very little work, almost nothing for food. Visited Jack Dahl, woman's brother. . . . They are unable to help woman: were very indifferent in their attitude towards her. Had nothing good or bad

to say: [wife] said she had seen very little of woman, that they lived very much to themselves. . . .

Visited Frank Dahl and talked to his wife: seems rather selfish, hard and stupid Polish woman. They own 2 very poor flat buildings, renting out 3 flats and living in one themselves . . . told same story of woman's immorality. . . . They say she had a good husband and she might have been well taken care of. She did not make a good home and he got disgusted with things and left her. She made no attempt to make her home what it should be and in spite of all the brother said she kept boarders and was immoral. Although she may have changed now their feeling is the same and they are unwilling to do anything. They feel, too, that United Charities would be foolish to put in any more money and that woman should go to Hospital. While visitor was there Mrs. Bukowski [sister] came in. She has the same attitude. . . . The entire family seem to be independent and care very little for one another, selfish and ignorant. John Bukowski also owns property. Also has 6 children and works at Deerin's for $2 a day. . . . Visited mother and sister. They had little to say. Suggested that they get all brothers to their house for conference with United Charities. At first they were very unwilling to have brothers come to the house because they thought they would drink and make a great deal of noise. . . .

"September 11, 1911, conferred with County Attorney who advised that woman's brothers may be brought into court to show cause why they should not contribute to the support of woman, provided it is proven that she is at present time unable to earn living.

"September 12, visited home of Mrs. Dahl. Only Mrs. Kossok was there. The brothers sent word that either they did not wish to come or that they had to attend a lodge meeting. . . . Woman in office; needs food. Told her visitor would deposit money in the grocery and butcher for her. She did not like this arrangement. Said she also needs money for coal in a very demanding attitude. Later visited Mr. Dodek. . . . The man . . . spoke quite highly of Mr. Judziewicz, saying he was an honorable, respectable and honest man, very industrious; he always worked steadily. Says when he was leaving them he

cried because of his wife's immoral relations with the boarder and told him he may never see him again. Said at that time he was going to take her back and leave the city with her but she refused to have anything to do with him, saying she would stab him if he came near her. Mr. Judziewicz sent as much as $50 to her. . . .

"October 13, 1911. . . . Visited court with woman where her seven brothers were present. Judge ordered her unmarried brother to pay $2 a month, Frank $1, Tony [owned a bakery] $1.50, John Bukowski $1.50, which amounts to $8.50 a month which money is to be brought to the office of the County Clerk on Monday. Leo the unmarried brother was arrested for contempt of court; said he would not pay. Later he was released.

"October 14, 1911, woman's mother and sisters-in-law in office. All have hard luck stories and insist they cannot pay. The son who was arrested said he will not pay mother's rent now and she is asking United Charities to do so. All complain that woman had good husband and money once and that it is her own fault. Say that men come at night and that she leaves the children and goes to neighbors and friends. Told them they might be able to secure Juvenile Court action if they could prove these things. [They paid nothing.] . . .

"January 5, 1912, case heard in County Court. The brothers were there with their wives, all very irate at the suggestion of paying and insisting there was no possibility of their giving money to their sister. Each one's story already made up told of sick wife or death which 'cost money.' Two or three admitted, however, that they had children of working age and one had a daughter about to be married who was taking his money at the present time. County Attorney recommended Bridewell. . . . He believed men would never get as far as the bridge across the Chicago River on the way to Bridewell. [Decision postponed.] . . . Visited Mrs. John Bukowski who repeated story of woman's immorality of 3 years ago as reason for not helping her and said that a year ago a nurse decided Mrs. Judziewicz was tubercular but that it was because she was 4 months pregnant with a child she subsequently got rid of, etc. [Man had wanted to return to her and she refused.]"

The Judge raised John Bukowski's rate at the suggestion of

the United Charities—he owned property and had 4 working children—from $1.50 to $2 and charged Joe only 50c, Frank $1.50 and Leo $1.50, the others nothing. Mrs. Judziewicz improved in health and the tuberculosis was cured. She was not eligible for a mother's pension because she had had an illegitimate child. The United Charities gave her the $5 a month which was offered to them by a charitable man. She therefore got along nicely. However, the family fighting continued. Once when she tried to rent some new rooms one of her sisters-in-law went to the landlady with the story of her immorality, saying that Mrs. Judziewicz had insisted on keeping boarders who worked nights and were at home all day while her husband worked. When the husband left, the boarders had left, too.

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

45. *Meyer Family.* "Mr. Meyer, a German Pole, born of peasant parents, came to this country at the age of 23 years [in 1886]. His older brother who had preceded him several years, had settled on a farm in the outskirts of Chicago and by dint of hard labor and strict economy now owns 80 acres of good land and is making a comfortable living. Needless to say he is a respectable citizen. This brother sent the necessary funds to our Mr. Meyer in order that he, too, might have a chance. Up to date this money has not been returned.

"On arriving, Mr. Meyer was offered a chance to live with his brother but the lure of a large city seemed too great and Mr. Meyer, although unskilled in any line, took up common laboring work in Chicago, living in a more or less congested neighborhood. We know nothing, unfortunately, of his employment record until ten years later when he married a young German Polish woman, 25 years old. Mrs. Meyer, an illiterate woman, had been in America six years at the time of her marriage. She had for two years prior to her marriage done housework. . . .

"The first application for assistance occurred in 1898 [2 years after the marriage] when Mrs. Meyer came to the Relief and Aid Society of Chicago asking rent. Mr. Meyer had been out of work for 3 months. There was one child [Mary], 13 months old."

Nothing seems to have been done at this time. Other chil-

dren were born, Tillie in 1899, Theodore in 1903, Bruno in 1908 and Eddie in 1911.

"January 30, 1908, Mrs. Meyer came to the office of the United Charities. Husband had not worked for 4 years, mentally slightly abnormal. She had recently begged but had usually worked very hard. Mary picking coal from tracks. . . . [Helped by United Charities and County Agent.]

"January 3, 1909, visited. Man at home, says he had to care for children while wife went out to work. Told him he must get work at once as the doctor says he is able to work. [He had a severe fall several years ago which left him partly paralyzed, but the doctor reports that the man's greatest trouble is laziness.] . . .

"November 1, 1910, Miss Campbell, whose mother has employed Mrs. Meyer for years, in office to ask if man cannot be sent to Bridewell [House of Correction]; says woman has come to work with arms black and blue from beatings. . . . Mrs. Meyer says man has not worked for more than 2 months at a time in the 19 years of his married life; says he taunts her with the fact that she must work while he stays at home.

"November 3, 1910 . . . man given 60 days in Bridewell.

"January 13, 1911, visitor heard . . . that the man had taken carbolic acid New Year's Eve. Asked woman about this. At first she did not want to tell but finally acknowledged it; says he took 20c. worth of poison while she was at work. Children yelled when he fell and the landlord came in. . . . He got better and returned home again. Woman says man sleeps during the day and will not sleep at night, annoying her considerably, thus causing her to lose considerable sleep. Quarrels with her and uses vile language in the presence of the children.

"January 16, 1911, man in office asking to be arrested; said he is unable to live with woman any longer. [Jealous of unmarried man who calls on woman.] . . . [Man complained woman took some clothes from office of the United Charities, where she was employed as janitress.] Woman acknowledged doing this and said man told her to take anything she could lay her hands on as she did not receive enough salary for the amount of work she did. . . . While woman was away at work man burned all the bedding, lace curtains, new veil daughter had received at

Xmas, insurance policies, all the woman's clothes he could get ahold of and some of the children's clothes; also broke a clock and bit up woman's wedding ring. . . .

"March 7, 1911, man given year in Bridewell. [The visitor received the following letter from him dated March 28, 1911.] Dear Friend: . . . I am thankful that you put me here. I learned how to work. Please see my wife and tell her that I will take care of my children and her if she will please get me out. I don't care much about myself but I always worry about my children and her. I did not know how to appreciate when I could see my wife and children every day. If she gets me out this time I will know how to take care of her. I don't want my children to be left orphans while they are young. [A letter dated May 5, 1911 says] I think a year too much for a man of my age. And not being my fault at all. So I thought of asking you for a favor and try and cut it to six months . . . seeing this my first time ever arrested and being in Chicago 20 years. I think I am in teal [entitled] to a chance. . . . [Another letter under date of December 23 is as follows:] Would you be so kind as to tell my wife that I am sick in the hospital hear and send her out hear to see me and give me a visset and have her bring my little Boy Bruno. I want to see him very bad. I haven't seen him in so long. . . . You will half to excuse me for sending the letter to you and putting you to so much trubble but I have ben hear so long I have forgot the number where I live. . . .

"January 31, 1912, man in office, came directly from the Bridewell without visiting his home. . . . Told him that his wife did not wish him in the home and that he would have to get a position and stay at work for a month or two and give money into the home before United Charities would give consent to his return. [He stayed a few days at the Christian Industrial League, then refused to stay there any longer and went to his sister.]

"February 5, 1912, visited sister . . . not willing to keep man there. Said he had a wife and children and ought to be at home with them. Man said he would take steps through court to get Bruno, that he was nearly insane to think he could not see them when he was released from the Bridewell. . . .

"February 8, 1912, woman in office; said man had come home the day before at noon . . . and the children let him in. When she came home he knelt before her and kissed her hands and begged her to allow him to remain. Because he humbled himself to kneel before her she weakened and told him if he worked he could stay.

"February 9, 1912, man in office asking clothing; said he secured work at $1.50 a day. Says he had no shoes and has to work outside in the wet and also that his feet hurt him. [He quit in a week and did not seem to make much effort to find work in spite of threats of the United Charities to have him arrested if he did not.]

"March 14, 1912, Mary in office first thing in the morning to say that her father tore good overcoat into strips last night and burned it in the stove; that early this morning when they were all asleep in the house, he tore the curtains down and cut them, cut some of woman's clothing into strips, poured kerosene over feather beds, slashed the leather seats of the four dining-room chairs and did other damage of this sort. [Threatened to buy pistol and kill Mrs. Meyer.] . . . Mrs. Meyer frightened and nervous and broken-hearted over the loss. . . . [Later Mary phones that her father has come home and is sitting quietly in the kitchen.] Visited. Mr. Meyer announced that he had nothing to say for himself except that 'the woman got the best of it and had everything her way.' He stated that he knew the patrol was coming for him that day and wished to 'fix' things for his wife, that he 'had not done much but had done something.' His attitude in the matter was one of spite and the attitude of his wife toward him unusually fine. Despite all that had happened she was rather gentle and almost pathetic in her statement of the case. . . .

"March 15, 1912, case tried in court. Man had no excuse to give and did not attempt to defend himself before Judge other than to make the statement that 'there was a God in Heaven.' Was given $100 and costs; sent to House of Correction. . . .

"December 12, 1912, a neighbor phones saying Mr. Meyer home and as Mrs. Meyer wanted to put him out again he beat her unmercifully [with a poker].

"December 24, 1912, woman says man was arrested. . . .

Statement by Joseph Meyer to the trial judge: 'Yesterday, the 19th of January, was the twenty-second anniversary of my wedding to my wife, Martha, from whom I became an outcast through the entrance of a former old country school-mate and friend who arrived here two years ago from German Poland, and who has won my wife's affections. And between my wife and this man they have connived to have me sent to the Bridewell upon mere allegation without foundation or truth. I was never given an interpreter and it seems that the statements of my wife were sufficient evidence to have me sentenced to serve first 2 months, the second time one year, and the third time 6 months. . . . My wife has often said that she works for rich people and can through their influence dispose of me as she sees fit, as it only takes her five minutes to make a complaint and they will attend to the rest. For over 2 years my wife refused absolutely to do her family duty by me and upon my return from the Bridewell the second time my wife had another child, a boy by this said friend, and coolly explained it was none of my business. In her attentions to this man she neglects my children and demoralizes their moral standard. I am now well and able to work and willing to work for the good of the children that God has bestowed upon me, but my wife is again attempting to have me sentenced in order to have me out of the way so she can pursue the course of her new devotion. As I said before, through the lack of having had an opportunity to explain myself in court through an interpreter I have been exiled from my family and existed a convict for the time stated. My record in the Bridewell is, of course, procurable and shows that I received 54 days' credit for exemplary conduct. I have never been a drinking man. I am not having this letter written for me because I bear malice to the courts but I must seek some way of obtaining justice. [The Criminal Court Judge upon the receipt of a certificate from the County Jail physician that Mr. Meyer was insane, turned the case over to the Detention Court. Mr. Meyer wrote the Legal Aid Society asking for an attorney to defend him.] They had felt after a conversation with him that he was not right mentally and asked Mental Hygiene to have an examination made. . . .

"February 14, 1913, visited Detention Court. Man was sent

to Kankakee [insane asylum]. After sentence was pronounced woman and Mary were hysterical; said they had never wanted him to go and they would not leave the court unless he was released. Woman's cousin told Mr. Moore that Mary is not working . . . and that she is making her mother's life miserable [she had started to work when 14 years old but was dismissed from position with Mary Crane Nursery because she was untruthful and stole several small articles and some money. The United Charities, in their résumé of the situation for the court said] Mary . . . begins to show something of her father's temperament. . . . The child's confidence has never been gained. She has always taken her father's side and her mother is worried over her as she feels she is untrustworthy, is rouging her cheeks and not coming home directly from her work. She is a woman whose enjoyment of household possessions is undiminished by the miseries of her domestic experience, as is a natural coquetry which she has always possessed. We believe that this is an innocent attribute and that all her husband's accusations of infidelity are the suspicions inevitably resulting from sexual obsession in a man otherwise unoccupied for 20 years. He has, undoubtedly, a diseased mind."

"April 3, 1913, woman says that Mary did not go to work today as the paint made her sick. Asked that we call up the firm and verify this. Mary had been to Miss Farrell to get suit which had been promised her, but failed to see Miss Farrell and insisted upon getting a coat for which she agreed to pay $8 on the instalment plan. An agent came to the house to collect for this and Mary behaved so badly, screaming and crying that woman finally paid him $2. Mary now has the suit from Miss Farrell and woman wishes to return the coat but she refuses to do so. [Mary discharged from present position because it was proved she stole from one of the girls. Mary refused to take housework offered her.]

"June 9, 1913, woman in office in great distress; says Mary has not worked at all at the hat factory [as she had pretended]. . . . Has been going with a girl who worked there. The girls say the employer is an evil man and showed them a check book and said they could draw what they liked. . . . Mary [refused to let him kiss her but] stole this check book and on the 29th

forged a check for $12 which she brought her mother saying it was her pay. On the 2nd she forged another check for $11; $6 of this she gave to her mother and $5 she spent at Riverview Park. . . .

"July 29, 1913. . . . Probation Officer says Mary lost her job on the 25th, that one of the girls had loaned Mary a ring and when the time came for Mary to restore it, Mary could not find it. . . . [A report from Kankakee that Meyer had escaped was followed by a letter saying] 'he escaped one evening but returned of his own free will at bed-time and has since been residing in the Institution.' . . . January 17, 1914, Mary brought home $6 on the 14th but insisted upon $4 being returned to her and with this she bought a very elaborate hat of black velvet and gold lace. Talked with Mary. She was very defiant and said that she would spend her money on clothing until she had something to wear. Was not satisfied with the coat that United Charities had given her from second-hand store. Said she would keep her money until she could buy a new style coat. Told her that if she did so the United Charities would not help with food.

"January 22, 1914, Mrs. Meyer in tears. The forelady at the shop where Mary works telephoned that Mary had gotten married in court today. . . . Mary gave the date of her birth as December 18, 1895 [instead of 1896] and signed the affidavit herself. . . .

"January 30, 1914, visited. Asked Mrs. Meyer to take a position. . . . Suggested Mary could stay and take care of the children. . . . Mary was at first very unwilling to consent to the plan. While the visitor was there Mr. Andersen [her husband] came in. He agreed to the plan at least temporarily.

"February 4, 1914, Mrs. Meyer in office. Says the work is too hard at the present situation and she is not earning enough to feed the children. Mary has had to give her money and she is ashamed and sorry. She feels too nervous to work and wants United Charities to get Mr. Meyer out of asylum to support her. Jennie, her niece, took her to visit him and she found him nicely dressed and sober, doing teaming work. He promised never to drink and to support the family."

A letter written by the United Charities June 16, 1914, states: "We have found her this spring in a peculiar mental condition

due, we think, to sheer discouragement and a feeling of having been defeated in life. All of her home furnishings are dilapidated and of long usage, because of her inability to replace them. She has been a woman who always took a peculiar delight in her home and longed to have it furnished daintily so that it did not compare so poorly with the homes where she has worked. We feel now that if we might help her replenish her linen and some of her household supplies we might be able to tide over their period of discouragement and help her to feel that life was again worth living. . . .

"August 19, 1914, Mrs. Meyer and Mary in office. [Mary very well dressed and living in her own apartment.] Mary says she has been helping her mother continually with food and clothing. Her husband makes $19 a week but she has to pay $17 rent and $5 a week on her furniture. She also has to save money because she is now several months pregnant. Her husband wishes her to have a doctor. She is planning to have a midwife because it is cheaper. Advised her not to do this. . . . During a period of unemployment for her husband she refused to seek aid at her mother's suggestion as she felt too proud. . . .

"November 13, 1915. Tillie still earns $4 a week. . . . Must buy new dress [refuses to wear dresses given by charity as being old fashioned—same as Mary]. For lack of satisfactory dress she has not gone to church for 3 weeks. Mrs. Meyer fears she will slip away from church unless allowed clothes she wants. Her [Mrs. Meyer's] ideas become more and more erratic. She said she wishes she were dead, had only trouble.

"For the past year the church [Irish, not Polish, for the latter always demanded money instead of giving assistance] has had a decided influence over Mrs. Meyer. Her children attend the parochial school and the priest has taken a very active interest in their welfare. . . . The family lives in a less congested district and although Mrs. Meyer is still very nervous and frequently complains the whole complexion of the family has changed. She is very interested in a mother's cooking class started last winter . . . and is also being taught to write by her 12 year old son. . . . If the man remains in Kankakee and the children keep well we feel sure the family will eventually become self-supporting. It is surely the highest point as far as

the standard of living is concerned. . . . The present system of County relief cannot but have a debasing effect upon the family, particularly upon the children who frequently must accompany the mother in order to bring home the dole of inadequate rations. . . . Mary is a good housewife and a sensible mother. She is contented and happy and her ideals are considerably higher, due directly to her husband."

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

46. *Wasilewski Family.* Mrs. Wasilewski was born in Galicia. She left home alone at the age of 15 years and it was 8 years before her family heard of her again. Her father had been organist in a church for 20 years and retired to spend his old age on a small four-acre farm. When she did write home to complain of her poverty here her father wrote her that she had made her own choice and he could not help her, that it grieved him to hear of her misfortune and therefore he preferred she would not write at all.

"June 13, 1910, woman in office [of the United Charities] saying she married one year ago. Has a baby [Helen] 5 months old. Man does not want to support her and child. . . . Woman had man arrested some time ago, for which he received a 7-months' sentence in Bridewell. Man begged woman to have him released and promised to do better, which woman did. [Man disappeared. Marriage had been a forced one, 3 months before Helen's birth.] . . . She came to office again and again. United Charities proposed different plans but she refused to consider them; she did not want to give up her flat, was very unwilling to go to work and simply wanted money. . . . Later her landlord in office. . . . Says that woman quarrels with every one. Also that men come to the house; says that she neglects the baby, leaving it sometimes for hours in a swing out in the yard or locked in the house. Says she has a mania for swearing out warrants for people. Says she swore out warrant for her husband because he talked to some girl boarders that she had. She would like to get out of working, if possible. . . .

"August 20, 1910, woman in office saying she had no food in home. Gave her grocery order. Refused to take it, saying Damman does not carry the sort of groceries she likes, espe-

cially her favorite bread. . . . [She put her girl boarders out because she found them having men callers and acting disorderly. One man gave her a black eye.] She said she was ashamed to go to work with the black eye. Asked her why she was not ashamed to come to office with her black eye, to which she answered very impudently. [Continues asking for rent.]

"March 21, 1911. Woman is going from door to door with baby and begging [stating that her husband is dead]. . . . Visited . . . found woman living in 3 rooms all very neat and clean. Said she is sick and cannot do hard work. . . . Says if she could not get any assistance she would be obliged to take in boarders which would mean that she must live with a man. This she had tried to keep from doing. Asked for shoes for herself and dress [as Easter is coming]. . . .

"December 16, 1911. . . . County substation phoned to say that woman is there asking rations and had a doctor's certificate with her saying she is pregnant. [Roy John was born 5 months later. Father was married man with 2 children in Europe. He gave her a little money occasionally and she says he promised to get a divorce and marry her.] . . .

"November 21, 1912, woman in office. . . . Said again she was 'very sick' and could not go out to the dispensary, so had to come to United Charities to ask for a free doctor. This story is in character with much she has told United Charities, as the dispensary is across the street from her and the United Charities office nearly a mile away. . . . She is unbelievably childlike and naïve in her inconsistencies.

"November 11, 1912, County visitor . . . was told by her landlord and the neighbor on the first floor . . . that men were calling on Mrs. Wasilewski and the echoes of their jollification were often heard. Mrs. Wasilewski had called at the County Agent's office a few days ago very finely dressed and joyously informed the office staff that she was going to be married.

"December 6, 1912, woman in office; said she quarrelled with her lover about 3 weeks ago because she refused to take him into her house as a boarder. She told him that if he would get a divorce and marry her she would be willing to live with him. . . . Said she had a dream the other night in which her husband was beating her; consequently she is sure he is thinking of com-

ing home. She lays awake praying she can get work and that her husband can come back. She would tell him so long as she had 10 fingers she will have nothing more to do with other men and will remain true to him.' [Asks United Charities to advertise for him; she heard he had $300. She received a letter from her brother from whom she had not heard in 15 years. He said he had written before but the letter was returned to him opened. She had her landlord arrested.] . . . Woman sure of winning case and seems highly pleased with whole affair saying before long house in which she is living will be hers. Refuses to stay another night, saying landlord will try to get in and murder her. Left office very angry and used filthy language when told United Charities had no intention of moving her. [The United Charities wrote a letter to the Associated Charities of Minneapolis asking information about Mrs. Wasilewski's brother and saying] She is an attractive woman and has a rather naïve charm. She varies from great craftiness in her dealings with us to absolute childlikeness . . . evidenced by her 'histrionic' ability. To evade working in the Mary Crane Nursery or following the other requests of ours she pretends to faint and is carried home in an apparently collapsed state. She ties her head in a towel and comes to the office where she will sit moaning and rocking for hours trying to play upon sympathy or when in a pettish spirit of refusal, she bangs her head violently against the wall like a small child."

She was committed to Kankakee Insane Asylum upon the finding of a jury composed mostly of Poles who found her quite incapable of caring for herself or using money sensibly. The children were placed in an institution. Mrs. Wasilewski wrote imploring letters to her brother and finally induced him to take her and the children to his home in Minneapolis. The report which the United Charities later received from the Charities of Minneapolis is as follows: "March 7, 1916 . . . her brother . . . has had very little to do with Mrs. Wasilewski for the last 2 years because of her actions since coming here. After he got her out of the Sanatorium at Kankakee he intended to take care of Helen and John so that she could go to work. She would not do this but preferred to run around with other men. An illegitimate child (Victoria) was born in Minneapolis in

September, 1914. This child died in infancy. . . . After Mrs. Wasilewski came to Minneapolis, Mr. Wasilewski wrote from Texas saying he would return to her if she were leading a better life. They did not remember name of city correspondence came from. She was pregnant at the time and he was not heard from since."

The United Charities learned from other sources that Mrs. Wasilewski had lived with her brother only a month and left to live with a man. She insisted upon having her children. Helen was with her brother who fought for the custody of the child, showing much hard feeling against Mrs. Wasilewski. He had prejudiced the child against her mother so that she was actually afraid of her. John was in a German Catholic Orphan Asylum. Mrs. Wasilewski persuaded the Juvenile Court to place Helen in the orphanage also, because her brother refused to let her see the child. Mrs. Wasilewski paid the children's board regularly for a time until she convinced the judge that she was able to care for the children and entitled to have them with her. She then adopted a different name and continued her old ways of living, receiving assistance from the United Charities who did not connect her story with what they knew of Mrs. Wasilewski. Finally the United Charities procured a warrant against her from the Juvenile Court because she neglected the children. After the summons was served on her she left town to avoid appearing in court and came to Chicago. Here she began begging under still a different name but was discovered and identified by the United Charities.

"February 21, 1916, Mrs. Wasilewski had large, healthy twins at the Chicago Woman's Shelter where she was put temporarily.

"March 3, 1916. . . . Hospital phones they cannot keep woman any longer . . . now that woman is getting up she is very hard to manage; uses vile language too [she was to work when well enough to pay for her back board, but was sent immediately to the poorhouse in Oak Forest. From there she wrote the United Charities] I don't ask you to put me in a poorhouse where I have to cry for my children. I don't ask you to put them in a home and eat somebody's else's bread. You only want people to live like you but I will not listen to you no

more. . . . I bet some people would have taken me and kept me there for a few days. I can't even live here without Helen and John. I am so sick for them. I listened to you and went to the hospital. I could live at home and spare good eats for them. What good did you give me to send me to the poorhouse. Please tell me and send me a letter back. For money I could find lots and lots of good places. Thanks Miss Jablowska that you told me of my children. I ask you Miss to send me the address of my children. . . . I am a good lady. I live like god gives me living. I want to live like good kind ladies live. I am such a not right lady living without a husband.

"March 20, 1916, Mrs. Wasilewski left Oak Forest during the night and was picked up by the Travelers' Aid Society at the depot and taken to St. Vincent de Paul's, who placed her in St. Joseph's Home. [She was again sent to Oak Forest.]

"March 29, 1916 (Clipping from Chicago *Daily Tribune*): 'Twins offered to Police. Mother brings 2 months old boy and girl to station for adoption. . . .' [Mrs. Wasilewski gave an assumed name.]

"April 8, 1916, Home for Friendless phones that Mrs. Wasilewski is there [applying for help]. . . . Said she intended to find rooms and support herself and her children by taking in washing and keeping boarders. [After a great deal of trouble Mrs. Wasilewski and the children were sent back to Minneapolis, as the County Agent decided she was not a resident of Cook County and thus not entitled to support in Chicago. To induce him not to send her she showed the $65 she had treasured all the time she had been in Chicago. He took this and used it to pay the carfare of herself and her children back to Minneapolis. The Juvenile Court of the latter place agreed to arrest her on her arrival for not appearing in answer to the summons it had issued before her departure. Her children were unusually attractive, docile and easily managed.]"

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

47. *Kupczyk Family.* Anton Kupczyk and his wife were born in German Poland and married there in 1906. In 1909 they came to America with two children, Gertrude and Kasimer, who were respectively three and two years old. In January,

1914, Kupczyk applied to the United Charities for help. He was receiving supplies from the county but wanted milk for the children. Investigation showed he had left of his own accord a carriage company where he had worked for two years at $8.50 a week and a saloon where he had been bartender for nine months at $10 a week. He claimed these wages were insufficient.

"The man has a very peculiar habit of crying pretty nearly continuously. His appearance is that of a decent fellow and he seems very much attached to his children. Also seems much more intelligent than Mrs. R. . . . January 22, 1914, Mr. Kupczyk was in the office in a spell of crying, states his wife will not give him anything to eat and makes him scrub and wash. Mr. Kupczyk asks $1 for food and money to pay 3 months' back rent. He states he walked today to the Carriage Co. and was told there was no work. He is all tired out and very hungry. Visitor gave him a hot cup of tea and a sandwich. Mr. Kupczyk has a very queer way of not looking straight in the eyes of the person to whom he is talking; looks always embarrassed but is exceedingly polite and humble. He says he never quarrelled with his wife and since they are married they have lived a very happy life. Now woman has changed and is very mean towards him.

"January 24, 1914, visited family. Found Mrs. Kupcyzk, a strange man (John Hubner), and children at lunch—meat, potatoes and coffee. Mr. Hubner and Mrs. Kupczyk were eating from one plate. When questioned whether Mr. Kupczyk had obtained work from Mr. Englers, Mr. Hubner stated that Mr. Kupczyk did not want work, nor would he try to get any. Little by little, as visitor questioned carefully she was told that Hubner was Bavarian, had boarded with Mr. and Mrs. Kupczyk for seven or eight years, that Mr. Kupczyk had practically given away his wife to him [as wager in a saloon bet] and has been extorting money from him ever since. The four younger children were Hubner's and it is only because the woman had begged her not to divulge anything (lest Mr. Kupczyk would take revenge on her) that Hubner has not said anything up to now. Five or six weeks ago Mr. Kupczyk quit working and said he did not have to work and it was Hubner's duty to support

him and his family. This attitude has lasted until now Hubner has nothing left from his wages ($15.00 weekly as night watchman at the Terra Cotta Co.). Mr. Kupczyk has even forced Hubner to borrow money for him. Last week he asked for money to go to Gary, Ind. Hubner gave him his last $10 yesterday. Mr. Kupczyk came for more. As Hubner refused Mr. Kupczyk said he would sell the furniture. Last night he brought some men to look at it. Mr. Hubner gives $10 weekly to Mrs. Kupczyk. Mr. Kupczyk takes it away in small sums. Mr. Hubner states he pays the rent of $11 every month and this month is paid until February 3. Mr. K. had offered to 'sell' his wife to other men, but Mr. Hubner does not know this except through hearsay. Mrs. Kupczyk says that Mr. Kupczyk told her to go to another man and she would get a nice suit of clothes for it. Mr. Hubner states that Mr. Kupczyk has been for a number of years an 'invert' [indulged in homosexual practices]. He thinks he can produce witnesses. [It later developed that the thirteen year old daughter and her younger brother, twelve years old, had the habit of spying through a hole in the wall and seeing their father's actions in his room, which was next to theirs]. Mr. Kupczyk swore he had not lived with Mrs. Kupczyk as his wife for years [but to the public he posed as her husband and the father of her children]. Mr. Hubner states that Mr. Kupczyk has a mania of crying, is but an 'old woman,' and yet has the ability to work on people's feelings. Mr. Hubner seems a decent fellow, big, strong, very quiet, bighearted, though weak and easily managed. Stated that he loves Mrs. Kupczyk desperately and cannot live without her. Mrs. Kupczyk is a very homely, unattractive person to every one else, but evidently to John she is the 'apple of his eye.' He will protect her to the end. Wants to know if there is any legal way to better things for Mrs. Kupczyk. . . .

"February 13, 1914 . . . visited Mrs. Kupczyk, who states that Mr. Kupczyk came home a week ago, sold some of the furniture in the front rooms, took his belongings and moved away. He told Gertrude he was going to live at 822 Noble St. Since he moved he often comes home at night and Gertrude lets him in and he sleeps on the floor in the kitchen. Complains that his new rooms are very cold. Mrs. Kupczyk thinks it is best

that Mr. Kupczyk moved. She could not stand him any more. She has not the courage to forbid him altogether coming to the house. She thinks he has a right to see his children, but she is afraid he will teach them bad things. John Hubner wants to 'throw him out,' but is afraid on account of the noise it will make in the neighborhood. . . . Mrs. Kupczyk is the image of a Polish country girl, simple and stupid. She despises Mr. Kupczyk but has never told him so, as she is too afraid of him. She plainly acknowledges John Hubner as 'her man' and states that she does not know of a better man in the world. She begs visitor to arrange things so that she can get a divorce and marry H." This the visitor did not encourage, for Mrs. Kupczyk believed divorce was wrong because forbidden by the church. Mrs. Kupczyk, however, had no scruples about continuing to live with Hubner and when they found Mr. Kupczyk continued to annoy them and demand money, they quietly disappeared. Later, however, Mrs. Kupczyk returned to the United Charities the money she had borrowed from them in order to move.

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

The cases above quoted show all of the secondary factors which bring economic dependency in spite of the positive causes which usually counteract the disorganizing influence of American economic life upon the immigrant.

The most striking and general of these secondary factors seem to be physical handicaps and mental deficiencies. But it would be a serious methodical mistake to limit our explanation to the mere statement of these factors, as is usually done, assuming that they are direct and sufficient causes of economic demoralization. The effect of physical or mental disability on the individual's social behavior depends not only on the nature and degree of this disability itself but also on the individual's own attitudes and on the social system which prevails in his milieu. None of the cases here quoted would lead to abnormal behavior in the usual conditions

of peasant life in Poland. However disabled physically an individual may be—like Maciejewski or Nowicki—there is some place for him in the family economy of peasant life, even if it is only the supervision of children in the absence of parents. His position may be inferior but not abnormal in consequence of the mere fact that his work is not equivalent to the expense of his support, and even if he cannot work at all he is dependent only on the family of which he is a rightful member, and his dependence is a simple and common social fact implying no feeling of sacrifice on the part of those who support him and little feeling of humiliation on his own part. There is, on the other hand, no tendency to exaggerate one's own disability in order to escape work, since the individual is interested in the results of his work as benefiting his own group and is willing to do as much as he can.

Here the social situation is radically different. American society has no place for the disabled except the hospital. But the hospital has traditionally meant pauperization in the peasant consciousness, and he refuses to go as long as he has some self-respect preserved. When American agencies compel him to go he feels himself pushed down below the level of economic normality. As a reaction he may cease to care for any standards and be ready to beg or steal in order to escape that ultimate humiliation. Even a temporary disability by reinforcing the general impression of insecurity brought by American conditions, produces an attitude of despondency which may even lead to suicide. We know cases in which suicide could not be ascribed to any other causes.

The Polish-American society counteracts this cause of economic demoralization in a considerable measure

by its mutual health insurance system without which a very large proportion of cases of temporary disability would be followed by economic decadence. But where the "sickness benefit" does not exist or is economically insufficient, and particularly in cases where the disability though only partial is permanent, society offers no preventive mechanism of any kind. Even if the individual or marriage-group has relatives in this country the large family has no longer its old significance in matters of social solidarity and the attempts of American institutions to compel relatives to help the disabled are entirely hopeless. The reasons are clear. In the old country economic life was included in and subordinated to social relations, economic solidarity was one of the necessary manifestations of a deeper unity of the large family which implied common responsibility and prestige, reciprocal response, community of traditions, similarity of occupations, etc.—a complex and indivisible set of attitudes. Here economic interests become dissolved from other interests and individualized; common prestige is no longer required, for the large family is not enough of a unit in the eyes of the community in which its members are scattered. Each member follows his own course of action, has a different set of interests, and whatever feeling of social cohesion is left is not sufficient to induce the individuals or marriage-groups to support the disabled relatives against their own private economic interests.

In cases of mental abnormality or subnormality the rôle of social conditions and of the individual's own attitudes is even more clearly manifested than in those of physical disability. The cases of Meyer, Mrs. Wasilewski and Mrs. Pichor are particularly instructive. The stupidity of the Pichor woman certainly

would not have led her into any trouble in the stable and regulated conditions of traditional peasant life in Poland. It would not have prevented her from acquiring the minimum of habits necessary in her position in the family and this position itself could have been adapted with the help of the large family to her abilities, however low. It is the novelty of the situations which she has to face in this country that makes her mental incapacity a factor of economic demoralization. Meyer and Mrs. Wasilewski are abnormal, not subnormal, but their mental abnormality is as much an effect as a cause of their abnormal social situations. The Wasilewski case is complicated by sexual demoralization, but Meyer's alleged "insanity" is a very clear and simple matter. The man was, of course, more or less abnormal temperamentally, which probably would have interfered to a considerable degree with his economic success and the harmony of his family life if he had lived in Poland. But he certainly would have remained a sufficiently steady and controllable member of his group to make any extraordinary measures against him unnecessary, whereas here his abnormality not only becomes an almost insuperable handicap by preventing him from constructing without social help a new permanent economic life-organization adapted to the new conditions, but everything that happens to him out of the traditional order to which he has been accustomed increases his inability to define the situations which surge up in the course of his life, breaks whatever remnants of normal habits he had left and drives him finally into a mental chaos and emotional despair actually verging on insanity. No wonder that at last the prison and the insane asylum are welcomed as bringing rest and relief in the form of a simple and regular life-organization

with no longer new and incomprehensible problems to solve at every step.

Somewhat similar is the significance of alcoholism for economic demoralization. The physical and mental effects of the direct influence of alcohol upon the organism are only one element in a complex situation whose other elements are the individual's traditional attitudes and the social and economic conditions. Drunkenness in a well organized peasant community is within certain limits a socially sanctioned and customarily regulated matter and precisely therefore, though it may impair the social and economic status of the individual, seldom leads to actual economic demoralization.[1] In this country both its proportion and its effects depend on the life-organization of the individual. If the latter tends to the ideal of property his use of alcohol is apt to remain within certain limits and indulgence does not easily lead to economic demoralization. If, on the contrary, there are no positive economic interests and particularly if the individual has been generally unsuccessful, alcoholism easily develops because it gives an emotional substitute for practical success, an illusory feeling of power which the individual needs in face of the difficulties of his position. In general it is clear that the unsettled conditions of the average immigrant favor a craving for artificial excitement of a pleasant kind. There is a still deeper reason why the immigrant wishes to drink. Drinking is always performed in company and by heightening social emotions produces a substitute for that primary-group atmosphere which every immigrant misses for a long time after coming to this country. The same situation which favors the develop-

[1] It is more developed and very disastrous in Polish cities for reasons which we have discussed in Vol. III.

ment of alcoholism also makes the effects of the latter more harmful. Even a moderate amount of repeated intoxication acts in a disorganizing way on an individual whose ability to lead a steady life is already weakened by the decay of his traditional economic schemes.

Alcoholism is also favored by laziness which it reciprocally favors but which often becomes of itself an important factor in economic disorganization. We need not discuss how far the so-called laziness is an effect of organic disability, for there is no doubt that it can be produced and is often counteracted by social influences and in so far as it is a socio-psychological attitude it cannot be organically explained but constitutes a distinct cause. By laziness in this sense we mean not the unwillingness to be active in general but the unwillingness to be active in those particular lines in which under the given conditions the individual can gain economic stability. Now this unwillingness may have two different sources. An immigrant may be unwilling to do a kind of work to which he has not been used in the old country and which is either too hard or too monotonous to suit him. If given an opportunity to work in his old lines he may completely "reform." We know a case of a boy born in the old country who seemed irremediably lazy until given the opportunity to work with horses. Meyer was put to similar work in the Kankakee Asylum and was perfectly satisfied. However, it seems strange that the cases are far more numerous in which the individual has an aversion to precisely the kind of work he used to do before coming to this country. It is a well-known fact that peasant immigrants do not wish to work on farms unless they can have farms of their own. This is probably the result of several different factors, not purely economic, but there is another similar group of

facts which throw a better light on the subject. We mean the unwillingness of the woman to do housework, a very general phenomenon found not only in numerous cases of economic demoralization but also constituting a frequent factor of family troubles which sometimes result in breaking the conjugal relation entirely. Its most dangerous effect in the economic field is not the mere difficulty of maintaining the standard of living of the family but demoralization of the wage-earning husband or children. This laziness of the housewife seems to be brought about by the changes in the nature and bearing of housework. Housework in this country does not include as many various occupations as in Polish peasant life—no cows, pigs, poultry, nor garden to be attended to—and the occupations that are dropped are precisely those by which the woman positively contributed to the income and property of the family, whereas in this country her cooperation with her husband is limited to managing his earnings as economically as she can. Most of the positive interest is thus withdrawn from housekeeping activities and they reduce themselves to the routine of cooking (which in the peasant class lacks all hedonistic purpose and means only preparation of something eatable), cleaning the house and mending the children's and husband's clothes, in short, not helping things to progress but keeping them from retrograding—an essentially unsatisfactory task. And this reduction of the work in extension is accompanied by a growth in intensity, for the standards are higher here than in the old country and the schemes of management are not as settled and socially sanctioned. To these factors of demoralization may be added the exaggerated consciousness of the man's earning power, due to the amount of cash which he brings home every

week—very large judged by old country standards—and the complete lack of interest in the man's work, due to the woman's ignorance of its nature. All these factors acting upon the centuries-old tendency to consider work in general a hard necessity and leisure a perfect blessing produces in the women that common carelessness and untidiness of which a great number of the immigrant men complain. And it is natural under such conditions if the man, feeling that he is not only not cared for properly when he comes from work but that the money he gives to his wife will be in a large measure wasted, often begrudges every dollar he leaves at home and either tends to use most of the money for purely personal aims or is tempted to indulge in leisure following the example of the woman.

The woman's loss of interest in the housework when the latter ceases to be an instrument of economic advance and becomes only a means of economic preservation is an instance of the general truth that when the mechanism of habit fails only a positive economic ideal which the individual tends consciously to realize can prevent demoralization in this line. A consequence of this general truth is that if the effort to advance is frustrated by some external obstacles the individual is likely to lose all constructive interest and go to pieces. This was, for instance, the situation in the Nowicki case where the real troubles seem to have begun with the loss of the grocery store. In the Meyer case the woman, who had developed an interest in improving the house furnishings, is pushed back into economic demoralization by the man's continual acts of destruction. In other cases whatever tendencies to advance there may have been are destroyed by sickness or accident befalling a productive member of the family. Often, as in

the Maciejewski and Nowicki cases, a feeling of hopelessness concerning economic prospects is produced or strengthened by a too rapid growth in the number of the family, and it is not surprising if the desire to limit this growth makes the woman recur to all kinds of practices like the abortion which caused Mrs. Nowicki's death, particularly when the cares of the immediate future overshadow the possibilities of progress of the young generation in the more distant future.

A very important factor of economic demoralization is family troubles, particularly unsatisfactory conjugal relations. Not only do these obviously lead to economic decadence in cases where the husband deserts the family, as in the Judziewicz situation, but even if the family remains externally unified they undermine all tendencies to economic advance. For however weakened may be the family principle among the immigrants, economic life-organization is still indissolubly connected, though no longer with the large family, at least with the marriage-group. An unsatisfactory home atmosphere prevents the individual from enjoying economic advance and deprives his plans for the future of most of their attractiveness. And even when he is inclined to separate his economic interests from his marriage-group interests, this separation seldom leads to his absorption in business activities, as so frequently happens with Americans whose domestic life is unpleasant, but usually makes him simply spend his earnings on outside satisfaction of his hedonistic wants. As to the woman, domestic trouble contributes to destroy her interest in housekeeping, though as long as the husband continues to support the family it does not seem to affect her economic life as it does that of the man. The latter is in general more subject to the disorganizing

influence of American conditions, and if home-life, instead of having a soothing and regulative effect adds new unpleasant experiences to what seems a disconnected series of outside happenings, the individual is apt to lose still more rapidly all permanent direction of purpose.

We saw above that the Polish-American community helps the individual in some measure to reconstruct his economic life-organization, partly by giving him a few ready schemes adapted to American conditions, partly by appealing to his desire for recognition and making the latter incompatible with economic demoralization. But this beneficent influence of the community is not exercised independently nor in spite of the individual's own will, as it often is in the old country. The individual or the marriage-group may participate only superficially in the life of the community within which he dwells, and the facility of moving to another district or town makes him feel rather independent of his present environment. Thus, the Nowicki family was evidently much inclined by nature to be dependent on social opinion; but they kept rather aloof from their milieu, and the desire for recognition, or rather the fear of contempt, manifested itself only in an effort to save appearances, in their unwillingness to let the neighbors know that they received help from charitable institutions. In other cases the only thing that from the point of view of social recognition seems to have a real importance for the immigrant marriage-group is to have their rent paid, so as not to be publicly evicted; the lack of money for rent is usually what makes them first apply to charitable institutions, while they seem to have lost that deeper feeling of shame which causes the peasant-farmer in the old country to pride himself on his self-reliance and re-

fuse to accept charity even if his neighbors should not know of it. Nothing shows better the shallowness into which the social emotions degenerate after emigration.

In the attitudes of the immigrant toward American charitable institutions there are several interesting points. While we find an unmitigated aversion to the use of hospitals and to allowing the county or the city to bury the dead—the Judziewicz woman prefers to beg for money for her child's funeral rather than let the burial be performed by an institution—the help of the Charities in money and supplies is taken quite naturally after the first step is passed and the immigrant has decided to apply. Many of them, in fact, become very bold and exacting, as if the assistance were due to them. Of course this difference is partly explained by the fact that going to a hospital or having a dead member of the family buried by the city is a public event and becomes the object of general gossip, whereas receiving help from charities is a less apparent form of dependency; also the traditional connection which hospitals and public burial have with pauperism, as we mentioned before, prevents these forms of assistance from ever losing their undesirability. But there is a still deeper and more general foundation for this difference. We notice that what the immigrant really wants in all his dealings with charitable institutions is material assistance without interference. Receiving help is felt as much less humiliating than having one's personal life or family affairs controlled in any respect by outside agencies. This attitude takes us back to those social conditions which prevailed in the life of Polish peasants under the serfdom system. It was then perfectly natural to receive assistance from the lord in cases of economic trouble; indeed, such assistance could be almost claimed as due

by virtue of custom and was not in any way humiliating. But the lord was not expected to interfere with personal or family life, except in the case of those who depended on him personally and had no land. The peasant farmer resented such interference as humiliating because putting him on the same level as the landless manor-servants. And this distinction evidently remains in social consciousness and asserts itself in all dealings with agencies which are outside and above the peasant's or workman's own community. The abolition of serfdom and the gradual merging of the peasant class with the lower city class, who were always independent, have indeed, developed and popularized the principle of self-reliance which originally existed only among those peasants who were dependent not on private persons but on the crown. Now under normal conditions even mere material assistance is felt as humiliating by the more progressive and well-to-do members of the class; and the social opinion of the community—which, as we have seen in the preceding volume, has a growing consciousness of its own importance—favors this attitude. But in abnormal circumstances, when the individual is thrown out of his traditional economic field, is isolated from his original community and gets into contact with unknown and uncontrollable foreign agencies, there is a reversion to the attitudes of the period of serfdom.

It is, of course, easy to understand that the interference of American institutions, when not based on an adequate acquaintance with the specific social psychology of the immigrant but proceeding from mere common-sense generalizations about human nature in general, is often likely to become a new factor of demoralization instead of being, as intended, a factor of reform. It introduces into the immigrant's life ele-

ments which are new to him and are not in accordance with his traditional life-organization. He can assimilate them fully and adapt himself to the demands put upon him only if he succeeds in incorporating them into a new life-organization; and this evidently presupposes that he is able to construct spontaneously, or that the American institution can give him, such a new life-organization instead of the old decaying one. But certainly this is not an easy task, and if either the immigrant's own moral and economic energy or the activity of the institution falls short of accomplishing this end, if the immigrant does not reach a permanent psychological basis on which he can reconstruct his life, everything that is done in order to force him to adapt himself to the situation as defined by the American social agency only aggravates the feeling of insecurity and purposelessness which the conditions of American economic life produce in him, increases the consciousness of his inability to deal with the situation and drives him further into economic and general demoralization. The frequent attempts of suicide, the outbursts of "ugly temper," etc., which so often follow the interference of American institutions are sufficient proofs of this fact. What the immigrant—man or woman, boy or girl—really needs is either some relatively important and attractive economic aim toward which he may be helped to *advance,* or a radical change of his traditional economic attitudes, an inculcation of the principles upon which the life-organization of the modern American city workman is based. Unless an American social agency is sure of attaining the one or the other it would be better if it simply pledged a definite amount of relief for a definite period in cases of real need, and abstained from all active interference.

In general, moreover, when demoralization has already progressed sufficiently far to bring it to the notice of American institutions it is difficult to stop it, for it creates a predisposition to react to all economic influences in a negative way and is apt to change from a mere passive inability or unwillingness to construct a permanent and independent economic life-organization into an active policy of obtaining satisfaction of one's needs without such an organization and if possible without any effort. When an individual has reached this stage any situation which enables him to live without working may become a factor of further demoralization. The dependence of the result of an influence upon the pre-existing attitude of the subject (which has forced us to consider this attitude an inseparable component of a socio-psychological cause) is very well illustrated by the fact that a husband whose demoralization has only begun will resent the suggestion of staying at home while his wife works outside, while (as in the Meyer case) the completely demoralized man "taunts the woman with the fact that she must work while he stays at home." Of course any charity assistance offered to the man in such a situation will only encourage demoralization. This explains also the fact that in economically disorganized families the work of children, if the latter are willing to work, has little, if any constructive influence. The demoralized father or mother is glad to live from the earnings of the children, having in this case the pseudo-justification of the old principle of familial solidarity. A still further step in this gradual decadence is found when the woman, as in the Wasilewski case, prefers to sell her body rather than to work; or when the man, as in the Kupczyk case, practically sells his wife to the "boarder," who supports the whole family. If living

from other members of the family is impossible the demoralization proceeds along the line of pauperism. Picking up coal on the railroad tracks, emptying garbage pails and begging are manifestations of this downward tendency. Stealing also belongs here in part (see Nowicki case), but it may have other sources and will be treated later.

Of course, this process of gradual decadence can be stopped and reconstruction begun if sufficiently powerful motives, adapted to the individual's psychology, are used. The most efficient means seems to be the arousing of the desire for social recognition, provided there are ways of satisfying it, and developing the desire for response, if response can be obtained by reinforcing the old family ties or establishing new ones. The principle is the same as the one employed by peasant communities in the old country when they wish to reform a recalcitrant member, though the details of its application differ. It is always the appeal to the fundamental "social instinct" which in its concrete complexity has more constructive power than any particular objective interest—economic, religious, even hedonistic. The method of giving the individual an important economic ideal can ordinarily be successful only in the very beginning of economic disorganization. The inculcation of the norms of the American workman's life-organization brings good results usually only with young people, whereas in cases where it is possible to base economic reconstruction upon a general social regeneration the results are apt to be beneficent under any circumstances. We find in our materials several examples of at least a partial reform attained by this method, though the latter was not applied very consciously nor consistently. In the Meyer case we see what seems at first a mere vanity

of the woman and the two older daughters—their interest in nice furniture and pretty clothes—become the starting-point of reconstruction, owing to the connection of the little group with a new community, the Irish-Catholic parish. Stanley Nowicki seems also to preserve more normal economic attitudes than the rest of the family because of his artistic aspirations and the new milieu with which he is brought in contact. In the reform of Mary Meyer the new family ties produced by marriage play a very important part. In the Kupczyk case the woman acquires a satisfactory economic life-organization after leaving her husband and establishing a permanent and regular family relation with the boarder. Even Nowicki, whose economic decadence had gone very far, seems to have partially reformed in this respect, at least after his second marriage. We know from other sources that in some of those cases where an apparently quite demoralized man deserts his family, settles in another community and marries again, the new set of social conditions leads him to reorganize his economic life in a perfectly normal way. Of course, the influence of the conditions must be stable and thorough, the individual must have many social contacts with the new community and many opportunities to gain recognition, the new family ties must be very close, and the economic atmosphere of the new milieu must be perfectly normal. Otherwise the change will only contribute to further downfall.

In short, the only really efficient remedy against the economic disorganization of the immigrant when the latter is no longer susceptible to economic ideals is his complete, exclusive and permanent incorporation into a new, coherent and normal primary-group, Polish or, better still, American.

CHAPTER III

BREAK OF THE CONJUGAL RELATION

The general background of the disorganization of the marriage-group among Polish immigrants is the decay of the large family, the weakness of the Polish-American community and the novelty of the American legal standards. Marriage as social institution was a part of the wider family institution. The large families of the husband and of the wife, whatever rivalries and conflicts there might be, were both interested in preserving the conjugal bond which was much more their work than that of the individuals concerned and which had led to a detailed adjustment of the economic and social affairs of each family and could not be broken without undesirable consequences for each of them. Each family, therefore, took care to enforce all the traditional rules of behavior upon its own married member and at the same time was ready to defend this member against any break of these rules committed by the other party. And whenever the large family itself overstepped the principles for which it was meant to stand or was unable to influence the marriage-group, the community exercised its rights of control over both the marriage-group and the large family. The traditional system was sanctioned by the entire social milieu of the married couple, including the church and the state, whose rules in this one respect were in harmony with those recognized by the peasant community.

Now, as we have already seen, in this country the

large family is no longer a real social body with concrete common interests—for usually only a few members have immigrated and these are often scattered over a vast territory. The community has also only a small stock of old traditions left and cannot efficiently enforce even these unless the individual chooses to participate actively in common life. Further, in spite of the great vitality which the parish has as social institution the authority of the church as religious institution is much weakened, perhaps for the very reason that the existence of the Polish-American church depends on the free will of the congregation. And the state, even if it tries to uphold the marriage-group, does it in a way which does not harmonize at all with the traditions of the peasant and far from preserving, rather weakens, as we shall see, the institutional meaning of marriage in the eyes of the immigrant. As a result marriage almost ceases to be a social institution, and the old socially sanctioned attitudes upon which the strength and permanence of the conjugal bonds were based lose most of their practical influence.

Under these circumstances marriage rests almost exclusively temperamental attitudes of the individuals, not upon their obedience to social rules. Sexual desire, maternal instinct, in a much smaller measure paternal feeling, desire for response and desire for security are practically the only powers which draw and keep the couples together. Our documents will show that none of these attitudes is sufficient to form a permanent basis for the family. And it is much more difficult for immigrant society to substitute new social ideals and norms for the crumbling old institutional foundation of family life than to create substitutes for the traditional economic life-organization. The abstract principle of duty

has little if any practical influence unless derived either from concrete social rules or from some form of religion. Love as cultural product with its idealization of the entire personality and consequent permanent attachment to the exclusion of all other individuals is rare in general and particularly rare among the peasants with their traditional subordination of the individual to the group. Economic ideals, when they exist, contribute, indeed, to the maintenance of family life in general, since the immigrant can seldom imagine an economically perfect life without a family. But this does not guarantee sufficiently the stability of marriage, for in any particular case a man may prefer to establish a new family rather than stay with the old one. Moreover, conjugal trouble reacts unfavorably, as we know, upon economic life. The social progress of the marriage-group, an active and prominent participation in Polish-American life which attracts to it the attention of the community, and the advance of the young generation are indeed positive moral factors in so far as they frequently prevent an open breakdown of the marriage-group; but their action is limited to a minority of the immigrants and is appreciable only when the marriage-group has already begun to achieve a certain social prominence, *i. e.*, when the parents have passed the "stormy period" of youth. Besides, in view of the tacitly accepted principle of Polish-American society not to interfere too much with the private life of socially useful members, a very far-going real demoralization may subsist under the appearances of respectability. The nominal standards of respectability are, of course, still kept up by the leading circles but with the exception of a small number of intellectual immigrants who have brought with them a general and more or less rationally motivated ideal-

ism, and of those members of the younger generation who are in close touch with such American circles as have preserved the traditional family mores intact, these standards seem to be merely a respected survival whose most real, though unavowed function is to impart to the eyes of society a kind of scandalized interest in those cases in which they are openly broken.

The moral status of the average Polish-American individual or marriage-group in matters of conjugal life can be thus briefly characterized as that of a very unstable balance of temperamental attitudes and personal habits, which determines whether the traditional social schematization—now almost reduced to a mere form—will be preserved or not. As long as the natural tendencies and habits of the man and of the woman work more or less in accordance with this schematization, their relation is still defined as of old, since it is easier to accept the ready and usual definition than to work out a new one. But there is no social prestige behind this definition and no higher motive which would induce the individual to accept and maintain it when it disagrees with his temperament and habits. Therefore any cause producing disharmony between the old social schemes and the individual's natural or habitual tendencies may lead him to reject the traditional definition and either prevent him from establishing a conjugal relation where according to all the social rules it should be established or make him break a conjugal relation already existing. The cause may be some influence producing in the individual new attitudes incompatible with the elementary conditions of conjugal life in general, or it may be some agency modifying the specific traditional scheme of conjugal life in a way which makes it seem no longer acceptable to him. Our object will be to determine these

special causes which definitely destroy the conjugal relation after the latter has already lost its old institutional significance as a consequence of the general effect of immigration.

[Although each of the documents quoted below shows the cooperation of several causes in the break of the conjugal relation, we are using more particularly documents Nos. 48 to 53 to illustrate temperamental misadaptation, Nos. 54 to 66 for sexual factors, Nos. 67 to 70 for economic factors, Nos. 71 to 77 for family interference, Nos. 78 to 80 for state interference.]

48. *Morawski Family.* Michaelina and Michael Morawski had been married 30 years and had 6 children, all grown up. Mrs. Morawski complained to the Legal Aid Society that her husband was a hard drinker and had always abused her. He often dragged her out of bed and threatened to kill her and when the children were young he sometimes locked them out and they were forced to sleep out of doors all night. She said that she had developed heart trouble and her physician advised her to leave him. She did not want a divorce, for religious reasons, but wished to keep her rights in the house, which belonged to them jointly. She asked advice as to the effect of her leaving him and going to live with her children.

But before anything definite was determined upon, Morawski deserted her. Mrs. Morawski had him arrested for non-support. She told the court that he had left her once before and when he returned after 7 months' absence she contracted syphilis from him. He proved, however, that he had never had syphilis. As there was no question of Mrs. Morawski's morality, the only possible explanation was that she had become infected from some of the washings she took in. As she seemed very well able to support herself and moreover was in possession of the house, the judge dismissed the case against Morawski, ordering him to stay away from her. He then went to the County Court and insisted he was unable to work and should be supported by his wife. It was finally decided that she would raise $500 to pay him for his share in the house, which was worth about $2,000, but which she claimed had been purchased from her earnings. He was completely broken down by alcohol, while she was thor-

oughly disagreeable and quarrelsome, not only in her dealings with him but with the Society as well.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

49. *Łapiński Family.* In their 30 years of married life Mary and Max Łapiński had had 8 children, all of whom grew up healthy. At the end of this time Max began to abuse his wife so much that her sons objected and ordered him to leave the house. They insisted he should pay $3 a week toward the support of the younger children. He paid for only 3 months. The family was not in need, however, for the oldest son and his wife boarded with them, 3 sons were working and making $10 a week each.

Mrs. Łapiński received a summons to defend a divorce suit brought by her husband. The bill charged that she "without any just or reasonable cause therefor, ordered your orator out of the house, saying: 'Pack up your things and get out. Go to the Devil and don't stink my house.' Your orator further represents that upon said above mentioned date in fear of his life he was compelled to leave and since that time the defendant has wholly refused to live and cohabit with him . . . without any fault on the part of your orator."

Mrs. Łapiński's answer was that she "admits . . . she used in substance the same words toward the complainant . . . but she denies that they were used without any just or reasonable cause and states that they were uttered in the heat of passion during a quarrel which had been provoked by the complainant's drunken and indecent behavior in consequence of which this defendant lost her temper." The case had not yet been heard.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

50. *Ziejewski Family.* After two and a half years of married life Lena Ziejewski complained to the Legal Aid Society that her husband beat her repeatedly with unusual cruelty, particularly when he was drunk or in the morning when he had not slept well. His lungs seemed to trouble him often at night. They had gone together for 4 years before being married and had been married only 3 months before their first child was born. He taunts her because she had relations with him before marriage.

About 2 weeks after the child was born he tied her hands and feet and bound her mouth. When she was almost suffocated, he released her. His family opposed their marriage and continued to incite him against her. Conditions did not improve when another child was born. He spent much of his time in a saloon across the street, drinking and gambling, and his only friends were his saloon-comrades. Yet he gave her most of his earnings. But when she put too much salt in his food, he beat her and once because she spilled some lard on the stove he struck her in the face, cutting it, and knocked her down. The neighbors often saw her with dress torn and eyes blackened. His father was also violent.

She had him arrested and placed under peace bonds. He then ceased his beatings but threatened to take both children and leave her. She was willing to let him have the children.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

51. *Gutowski Family.* Martha Gutowski wished to know whether she was divorced or married. Four years before she had married Walter Gutowski. Three years later he sued her for a divorce and claimed to have gotten it. Nevertheless he again induced her to live with him for 2 weeks, after which they again separated. Ever since, however, he had followed her to all her boarding-houses and insisted on paying her board and part of her expenses. Again he induced her to come to live with him, bought furniture and rented a flat. After they had been living together 6 months she inherited some money from her mother. He then ceased to support her until they should be openly living together again as man and wife. Two months later she applied to the Legal Aid Society to know whether she should be remarried to him.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

52. *Jalowiecki Family.* During their 12 years of married life Jalowiecki deserted his wife more than a dozen times. He always returned after a month or so.[1]

[1] This may be a case of temperamental misadaptation but may be also a kind of alternation between the desire for new experience pushing the individual to vagabondage and the desire for stability compelling him to return to the known and habitual conditions. *Cf.* Wladek's psychology in Vol. III.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

53. *Czalpiński Family.* Walter Czalpiński was a skillful cattle killer and made from $20 to $25 a week regularly. Mrs. Czalpiński belonged to a Polish benefit society and was secretary of her lodge. They had been married 17 years and had 6 children. Their domestic difficulties gained in intensity and in extension as time went on, for not only relatives and friends and even their whole neighborhood had become involved in their fights, but the recourse to the police and the courts became increasingly frequent.

Mrs. Czalpiński's tendency to indulge in dramatic effects and threats of suicide had convinced her husband that she was insane. She fainted spectacularly on several occasions. When her husband on returning from an absence in another State confessed that he had been unfaithful to her she ran to the pantry and snatched a bottle of poison. After one of her periodical quarrels with him she walked barefooted in the rain and snow to a druggist, bought some poison, and sat on the front steps, attempting to swallow it. Once when her husband was drunk but making no disturbance she went for the patrol herself. After 3 days in jail awaiting trial, during which time he lost 20 pounds of weight, he was discharged by the court and in her indignation she went to the railroad station and lay on the tracks until removed by the police. An examination, however, showed she was not insane, merely supersensitive to certain suggestions. She herself acknowledged that her attempts at suicide were chiefly for the effect.

But her quarrels and repeated arrests had a more disastrous effect upon her husband. After his third arrest matters became so bad that she left the house, claiming she could not live with him any longer. The chief matters of dispute were money and the children. He claimed she neglected and mistreated the children. Further she loaned money given her to pay bills of her worthless brother, and was generally extravagant. So much bad feeling existed between them that it was impossible for them to make any compromise for support. She refused to let him have any of the children and he would not give her any money, though he was willing she should return home if she would behave herself. She would not return, nor would she take the

proper steps for treatment of her tubercular condition, due to lack of nourishment and worry. The children were finally placed in institutions, Mr. Czalpiński became so nervous and excitable that he threatened to cut his throat with a knife if any more were said to him about his domestic affairs, and Mrs. Czalpiński was quickly and miserably dying, too defiant to yield to her husband and too unreasonable to accept any other help. She insisted to the last that she would take her husband to court and make him support her.[1]

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

54. *Adamski Family.* The following statements were presented to the Legal Aid Society by Mrs. Adamski to induce the society to act in her behalf in having a divorce set aside and obtaining for her the custody of her children then living with Mr. Adamski and his second wife.

Statement of Mrs. Mary Adamski under date of May 12, 1914: "I was born Sept. 8, 1880. I will be 34 years old next birthday. I married Joseph Adamski on Nov. 23, 1897. . . . I was living with my husband very happy. . . . Our first child Weronika was born Jan. 9, 1899. Then about a year later I had another child which died. On Feb. 26, 1902, another child was born to us, namely Helena. When I happened to be in a pregnant condition with my fourth child my husband decided to visit U.S.A., much against my wishes which he resisted. . . . He left me on May 22, 1903. Daughter Stanisława was born Oct. 26, 1903. He stayed away from me for about 1 year and 2 months during which time I received from him $100. He returned to me and stayed for about 1 year and 10 months, at which time he decided to leave me and the children and return to U.S.A. . . . My husband hardly ever sent me money and it was a pretty tough proposition for us to live. Many days I went hungry for I hated to beg.

"One Jan Masłowski . . . who is now about 45 years of age, and at that time being married and having children of his own, lived next door to us. He had been a friend to my husband . . . and continued to make visits. . . . On or about Feb. 14, 1910, the children went to visit . . . and left me all alone in

[1] Temperamental misadaptation aggravated by repeated arrests.

our living rooms. Mr. Jan Masłowski appeared. After sitting and speaking to me for awhile he seized me, covered my mouth and threw me on the bed. My resistance was of no avail, he committing cohabitation against my will. The result was a son being born on Nov. 14, 1910, christened Jan. At one time after the child was born the said Jan Masłowski remarked to me: 'You know I went to the U.S.A. before your husband and left my wife and children here. Your husband arrived in America sometime later and boasted of having intercourses with my wife. We often quarrelled and called each other names. It broke me up considerably for sometime, until once I told him I would do the same thing and let him taste the same medicine. I am now satisfied that I got back on your husband.' [An affidavit by Masłowski accompanied this statement and confirmed the facts.]

"I wrote to my husband to come. . . . When I was pregnant I pleaded with him to come, confessing . . . and begging him to come over or send for me. . . . [He wrote he wished to have nothing more to do with her.] About 3 years ago my husband sent for the children and against my consent they were brought. . . . It is claimed by others that he has been divorced from me. . . . I have had no hearing or notification of any divorce proceedings. [Demands children and contests lawfulness of his second marriage.]"

Statement of Piotr Nowak: "I know Joseph Adamski since he came to America and I know Francis Okrasina for a long time. This is the way Mr. Joseph Adamski got acquainted [with her]. Mr. Teofil Okrasina and Mrs. Francis Okrasina, about 5 years back, lived together happily. There was a child born to them so they asked Mr. Joseph Adamski to be god-father, and from that time on Mr. Joseph Adamski has broken up their home. . . . I know of a good many times [when] he gave Mr. Okrasina money to go out and get drunk. I got mixed up in the deal and I was asked to take Mr. Okrasina out of town so that Mr. Joseph Adamski and Francis Okrasina would have the way clear of interference. I took him to the depot and he disappeared from us, but the next day we tried it over and succeeded in getting him away. I was later approached by Mrs. Okrasina to go to the court and swear falsely in favor of Mrs. Okrasina,

which I refused, knowing that there was too much injustice done up to this time.

"Mr. Józef Adamski was furnishing the money buying her clothes, paying her rent and paying all expenses of the court costs and lawyers. I happened to visit Mr. Joseph A. since he got the divorce decree and I have seen what they do to the children. . . . They do things in front of the children so immoral that it is a pity that those children are kept or allowed to be kept in such a house. They should both be behind the bars. I will tell more at trial for the sake of justice, which they fooled to this time."

Statement of Bronislaw Babinowski: "I know Józef Adamski and Francis Okrasina, the woman that he now lives with and claims to be his lawful wife. I am married to her sister, therefore I am a brother-in-law to them. About four and a half years past Józef stayed with us and then came to stay Francis Okrasina. They had no doubt arranged beforehand to stay with us. Their conduct was awful and I had to keep my children out of sight for fear they get spoiled. It seems that they care not what they said or did in front of others. . . . [They were asked to move after they were discovered having intercourse together.]

"About 2 years later the children came from Europe to Józef Adamski and he at once started the divorce proceedings. . . . My wife pleaded with her sister to leave this man Adamski for the sake of the children and we often begged Józef to release her and go to live with his first and lawful wife. But they refused to listen and asked us to leave the house. Now to describe their action about the house one would say, and I do say, that if the children were somewhere in *Red Light* district they could not learn anything worse. . . . Mr. Adamski has said that he can have everything for money in this country and that the divorce was easy to get in as much that he had money."

The Legal Aid Society undertook to act for Mrs. Adamski for there was much evidence that the children were not being properly looked after. In spite of notice to Mr. Adamski's lawyer, no one appeared on his side. Besides the above statements some evidence was introduced as to the bad character of Adamski—enough to make him out a Don Juan type of man—

and Veronica, the oldest child, appeared in behalf of her mother. She said she was 17 years old and had been married a year ago to a man whom she did not know at all and did not care for. Her father and step-father had said she was old enough to have relations with a man and had shut her up all night with one Trawiński, whom she later married. She said he always treated her badly and refused to support her, twice leaving her without money. As her father and step-mother always took his part she left them and went to live with her own mother. Another witness told of finding this man and the step-mother "playing together very lover-like." Of course, on this showing the Master decided that the mother should have her children.

Before the order was definitely made, however, Mr. Adamski's attorney asked for a chance to be heard and the case was opened once more. Mr. Adamski and his second wife appeared with all the children, even Weronica. Their appearance was unusually prosperous and striking. Both Mr. Adamski and his wife were well-dressed, handsome and efficient looking persons. He testified he had been working for years as clerk in a drug-store, making $16 a week. As there were no children by his second marriage he was able to look after the children better than their mother who could make only $7.50 a week by working full time. The children expressed their desire to stay with their father, and Weronica contradicted all the facts she had stated at the former hearing, said she was now living with her husband and was perfectly satisfied. Whatever the facts as to the sexual morality of the father and step-mother, it seemed best under the circumstances to let the children stay with them. An order was entered confirming the degree of divorce and the award of the children to their father.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

55. *Michalski Family.* Minnie and Stanley Michalski were very young when they were married. Shortly after their marriage a friend of Stanley's, a young man named Frank Kornacki, came to see them. He called about a half-dozen times. One Monday in January, 1912, he came to the house at noon-time. Young Mrs. Michalski was at home alone doing the washing. Whether or not he forced her to have sexual relations with him

it is hard to say. She later claimed that she resisted him, but that he held her mouth with one hand so firmly she could not scream and as she was 5 months pregnant she did not dare struggle to prevent him. She did not tell her husband of this. The child was born and named Helen.

One Sunday in August of the same year, Kornacki and Michalski were gambling together in a saloon. Michalski had won $8 when Kornacki, half drunk, offered to tell him "something" for the return of the $8. He then told of his intercourse with Mrs. Michalski. Michalski went home almost crazy and choked his wife until she told him the truth. His fury knew no bounds. He would not believe that she had been without fault in the affair and ordered her to have Kornacki arrested for rape, refusing to live with her unless his former friend was punished. The warrant, however, was refused. He was especially enraged because the attack had happened during her pregnancy, and as she was at this time again pregnant she had an abortion performed to pacify him. He thereupon allowed her to return and they lived together for 2 years more. Then he left her, promising her $5 a week for the support of the child.

Mrs. Michalski appealed to the Legal Aid Society to assist her to get more money from her husband. Michalski answered in person the society's letter and made a very good impression on the interviewer, a new and inexperienced girl who was "very sorry for him." He insisted he loved his wife dearly but could not live with her. She had admitted to him having relations twice with some man and he simply could not forget that. Besides, every time he went out with her he imagined she was flirting and making some engagements with men. He concluded by offering to bring his wife to the office of the society "to talk the matter over." This he did. He refused more money and urged Mrs. Michalski to get a divorce, nobly promising to produce conclusive evidence of his unfaithfulness to her.

Nevertheless, the Michalski family tried living together once more, rented a flat and bought new furniture. After 2 weeks Stanley Michalski left and his wife went to the Legal Aid Society to complain that he was running around with another woman and giving her only $5 a week. She was now willing to get a divorce. Nothing was done in the matter, however. Six months

later she again applied to the society. The night before her husband had come to her flat and threatened to kill her and Helen. He turned on the gas and tried to choke her into unconsciousness, but she screamed so loudly that he became alarmed and left, seizing a photograph of himself that was hanging on the wall and taking the child with him. Mrs. Michalski called a policeman, arrested him and got the child back.

Shortly after this, Michalski, who had become manager for the company he was working with, gave his wife a job in his office at $7.00 a week—this to avoid paying anything toward the support of the child. She soon lost her work and he did not resume payments. The Legal Aid Society sent for him. He said he was unable to work, that he had contracted syphilis from some woman he lived with, was undergoing treatments for it and would probably have to have an operation. He insisted that his wife was living immorally and told of catching a man partly undressed in her closet once when he called at her flat with a policeman. He wanted to arrest the man but was afraid of involving his wife. Some months later, Michalski went to the office of the Legal Aid Society and demanded the record of the case. He wished to see whether the record contained any admissions by his wife of her immorality, meaning to use such admissions as the basis for a divorce. When this request was naturally refused, he became very much excited and charged the society with always "shielding the woman."

Another 6 months went by. The divorce had been granted without a contest. Much testimony had been produced as to Michalski's good character and Mrs. Michalski's immoral conduct. Michalski's brother and a young girl had testified that one evening they had all been drinking and were playing hide and seek when Mrs. Michalski invited an 18 year old boy into her bedroom and had intercourse with him. At first Mrs. Michalski denied this and offered to bring the boy in question to court to refute the story, but when more closely questioned by the Legal Aid attorney and shown the dangers of perjury she admitted it was true. But she implored the society to get the order of court giving the custody of the child to its father set aside. She said, with tears in her eyes, that the child meant everything in the world to her. When, a few days later, Michal-

ski took the child from her, her despair was so real and so pitiful that the society determined to contest the divorce for her. The decree already entered was set aside on a preliminary showing of Michalski's bad habits. In preparation for the final hearing the Legal Aid attorney called on the girl for whom Michalski had left his wife. She did not resent the suggestion that she come to court to tell of her relations with Michalski. She "felt sorry for poor Minnie and would be glad to help her out," but it was a most inauspicious moment, as she was suing her own husband for a divorce and she did not wish to be placed in the situation of telling the same Judge in Minnie's case that she was an immoral woman and in her own case that she was an irreproachable wife seeking separation from an undeserving husband. She finally agreed that if her own divorce "went through all right," she would consider helping "Minnie." But on no account was she to be subpœnaed, for if she was forced to testify against her wishes she would tell so much that neither Minnie nor her husband would be allowed to keep the child. A few weeks later Mrs. Michalski said Stella refused to help her, for Stanley had promised to marry her if he should get another decree of divorce. This was not the only promise of marriage that Stanley made pending his divorce.

Mrs. Michalski was allowed by the court order to see the child and once she kidnapped it. The Legal Aid Society obtained a court order allowing her to keep it. Neither Michalski nor his attorney appeared in court to contest the matter.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

56. *Rozłowski Family.* On February 23, 1911, Mrs. Rozłowski called at the Legal Aid Society. Through an interpreter she said that she had married Stanislaw Rozłowski 5 years before and had 2 children by him, Gertrude then 3 years old and Jennie 2. She complained that he had always been abusive, especially when she was pregnant. He was also unfaithful. Two years earlier he had owned a candy-shop and been intimate with the girls whom he employed in the shop. Finally he deserted and brought a bill for a divorce, alleging the adultery of his wife. She denied the adultery but failed to return to the Society to be defended in the suit. Rozłowski was granted the divorce on

the testimony of his mother and sister that Mrs. Rozłowski had confessed her adultery to them.

Two years later, April 17, 1914, Mrs. Rozłowski again called on the Legal Aid Society. She said Rozłowski had the oldest child with him but permitted her to see it often. She was supporting herself and the younger child by taking in washing, but said she would like to go back to her husband. Rozłowski, when interviewed, would not consider taking her back. He was willing to take the younger child but would not support it while it lived with its mother, claiming she was not fit to bring it up. Yet he was willing to leave it with her, provided she supported it herself. The reason he gave for this seeming contradiction was that she "would be more like to keep straight if she had the child." He could not show any recent misconduct on her part, however.

July 1, Mrs. Rozłowski informed the Legal Aid Society that she was pregnant and that Rozłowski was responsible, as he had stayed with her three times during May and June and had intercourse with her each time. This Rozłowski consistently denied even to the court, but a midwife was discovered who had been sent to Mrs. Rozłowski by Rozłowski's sister. Furthermore, her landlady corroborated her story and testified to her good conduct. Rozłowski was found guilty on the bastardy charge. He would not pay nor furnish a bond and so was sent to the House of Correction for 6 months.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

57. *Piotrowski Family.* It is rather rare for a man to consult the Legal Aid Society about his domestic affairs. Usually the matter is brought before the Society by the woman and only later the man's story is heard. However, in April, 1913, Teofil Piotrowski stated that his wife had left him because he had "made a fuss" when he found in his home a boarder whom he had ordered out of the house. The man had a wife in the old country, but after the trouble Mrs. Piotrowski had taken the baby and gone to him, leaving her other 4 children at home.

He said he did not want a divorce, as that would please her too much but he did want to make it impossible for her to return to him. Later, after Mrs. Piotrowski had taken another

child from him, he said he wanted a divorce because he felt that was the best way to prevent her from returning to him. He insisted he had always been good to her, never struck her nor been ugly to her during their 13 years of married life.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

58. *Koskowski Family.* Pauline Klimek came to America when she was 16 years old. She was doing housework in Philadelphia when she met Felix Koskowski and was induced to live with him as his wife. She claimed that she did not then know that he had a wife who had returned to her home in Austrian Poland for her confinement. When the newly born child was 14 months old, Mrs. Koskowski returned to the United States. She found her husband in Chicago living with Pauline Klimek. She appealed to the Polish National Alliance for help. Koskowski and Pauline were arrested on an adultery charge but when the judge found that Pauline was pregnant he took pity on her and agreed to dismiss the case if she would have Koskowski arrested on a bastardy charge. He did not make any contest, but this suit was also dismissed, for it appeared that Koskowski had no money to pay a judgment, if he were sent to the House of Correction his wife and child would suffer, and moreover Pauline had no hard feelings against him and did not want him to be sent to jail. The Immigrants' Protective Association found work for Pauline and planned to befriend her through her confinement. However, without any notice, she left the place where she was working and ran away once more with Kosowski. Mrs. Koskowski and the child were left in Chicago without any means of support.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

59. *Siliński Family.* Mary and Joseph Siliński were married in Russian Poland in 1902. They had one child. After 2 years of marriage Joseph left home and came to America. Some years later Mrs. Silinski learned that he had married again in America, had 2 children and owned some property. She thereupon raised some money among her brothers and sisters and reached Chicago in August, 1913. She immediately took out a warrant against her husband, but the proceedings were so in-

tricate she could not tell what happened at the trial. She then appealed to the Legal Aid Society.

The Society discovered that at the trial Siliński had denied his marriage to Mrs. Siliński, but she had all the papers necessary to prove that they were legally married. Siliński had then offered her $500 to sue for a divorce, promising to pay the costs of the divorce. This Mrs. Siliński would not hear of; she "wanted her man back." The Society advised her to agree to this plan, as she was alone and friendless here and moreover had incipient Bright's Disease. She was "confused and unintelligible and evidently fated."

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

60. *Baczmarzyński Family.* Stanley Baczmarzyński was tried for bigamy. He was married while still a minor to Celia Wiśniewska before a judge. This may have been the result of a prosecution for bastardy, for the girl testified at the bigamy trial that their baby was born June 25, 1911. She continued working after marriage. Nov. 22, her husband came and lived with her until March 6th, when she "turned him out. He never worked and wasn't much good."

On August 27, 1913, he was married to Frances Detmer, in St. Stanislaw's Church, under the assumed name of Hieronim Kochański. He also gave false names for the 2 witnesses who were present. A photograph was taken of himself and his bride. One witness testified at the bigamy trial: "I told him he wasn't divorced and he denied it and told me he was. The others that were to stand with him refused and he come for me three or four times to get me and finally came in an automobile and got me. I went. I told the second wife's brother, Barney Detmer, he was married, and Barney didn't say much. I told him that same evening after the marriage. After the marriage Stanley come to me and said: 'Somebody give me out that I was married before.' I took the car and beat it before the trouble started."

The testimony of the second wife was: "After we were married I lived with my folks. . . . Lived there as husband and wife. He stayed with us till now. Have a baby Mildred, 9 months old, the result of this marriage. I have not been di-

vorced from him. I still consider him my husband." The testimony of her father was: "Defendant would not pay board, never worked and never supported his wife nor baby and didn't even buy milk for the baby."

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

61. *Mucha Family.* Mr. and Mrs. Mucha had been married 23 years. They had a boy 22 years old, a girl 16 and another boy 12. They owned jointly a printing shop where both of them and their oldest son worked. They made altogether about $24 a week. Mr. Mucha suddenly began systematically to abuse his wife and insist that she divorce him, promising that his lawyer would attend to her case and would pay her $10 a week alimony. He explained that he had made another woman pregnant and that her family were forcing him to marry her. He agreed to return to her as soon as he could.

But after the divorce he married the other woman immediately and ordered his first wife to leave the printing shop. They later made some financial settlement about the business. The boy stayed with his father while the mother kept the 2 younger children.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

62. *Zieliński Family.* Charles Zieliński reported to the Legal Aid Society in Dec., 1912, that when he went to Canada to find work his wife went to live with another man and refused to come to him. He did not wish a divorce or an arrest, but he did want his wife back. She was good to the children (three and two years old), and he was fond of her.

Mrs. Zieliński's story was that she had come to America 6 years before with Zieliński and some other people. She and he had worked together and put money away in one pile until they got $80 together. He then lost his job and spent all but $10. He said he needed clothes so she forgave him and they were married 2 years later. She continued to work but her husband seldom kept a job long. He was a moulder by trade and could make $3.50 a day, but when he got any money he would quit work and spend it, so that he never worked more than 3 months at any one job. He often drank and abused her and before

going to Canada slipped off to Kenosha and tried to marry another woman, but his previous marriage was discovered. She said he had committed adultery with the wife of the man who was living with her, and whom she claimed was only a boarder. This wife arrested her husband and Mrs. Zieliński on a charge of adultery but as she could prove nothing the action was dismissed.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

63. *Woźniak Family.* Stella and Julian Woźniak had been married in Chicago in 1896 and lived together happily for 7 years. When Mrs. Woźniak was pregnant for the third time her husband suddenly deserted, leaving her without a cent. After his desertion John Pawłowski began to "be good to her." They lived together for 4 years and had 2 children. Mrs. Woźniak then appealed to the Legal Aid Society to get a divorce for her so that she could marry John. He came with her and appeared to be a decent, hard-working man, a teamster. He did not make much money but she worked as finisher of coats in the rush seasons and whenever they were in need the United Charities gave aid.

While the Legal Aid Society was securing the divorce, Mrs. Woźniak and John were arrested for adultery. They believed that their arrest was due to the jealousy of Mrs. Nowak with whom John formerly boarded. This woman had tried to persuade John to live with her and had even gone so far as to rent some rooms for them both. At this point, however, John had told her husband of her overtures. She then tried to poison him but her husband warned him in time. The adultery case was continued until the divorce was obtained and the couple married in Indiana. It was then dismissed.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

64. *Gaszyński Family.* When Mrs. Gaszyński appealed to the Legal Aid Society for help in 1911 she was a very nice appearing, neat Polish woman about 33 years old. She had come to America with her husband 6 years before. Their two children were aged 6 and 2 years. She said that she had been married 13 years, that her husband had treated her well in Poland, but was much worse since coming to America. He began to run

around with other women here and 2 years ago deserted her. She lost complete track of him until recently she discovered where he was living in Chicago and moved into the neighborhood in order to induce him to return to her. Instead he moved away immediately. He was living with a Mrs. Dujek who already had 2 illegitimate children and bore a very bad reputation, although she was only 23 years old.

Shortly thereafter Mrs. Gaszyński discovered her husband in a saloon and had him arrested for desertion. The judge ordered him to pay her $10 a week. He did not pay. Two weeks later Mrs. Gaszyński had been arrested for throwing vitriol at Mrs. Dujek and disfiguring her for life. It later appeared that Mrs. Gaszyński became desperate when her husband failed to pay the money as ordered by the judge. She planned to kill her husband, Mrs. Dujek and herself, but she had only 10 cents left. With this she bought some vitriol. She went to the home of the other woman, called her to the door and threw the vitriol in her face.

When the trial occurred the sympathy of the judge was with her and he gave her only 4 months, the lightest sentence he could under the law impose. She showed her husband was making $6 a day as bricklayer yet refused to pay her according to the court's order. He was living in open adultery with another woman who was 7 months pregnant by him. The court therefore sent him to the Bridewell for 6 months. He claimed that a boarder was the father of Mrs. Gaszyński's youngest child and he finally induced her to get a divorce. She married again and had trouble with her second husband also.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

65. *Ziółek Family.* Once when Mrs. Ziółek was sick it was reported to the Juvenile Court that her 2 boys, aged 7 and 5 years, were neglected. The officer found that she was "an almost model mother, clean, neat and attractive." But she had 4 boarders and the Juvenile Court feared for her moral condition. Her husband had deserted her after 8 years of unahppy married life in the course of which he beat and abused her, especially after drinking. She had refused to have any marital relations with him because his physician advised her that it would

not be safe in his general bad condition. Perhaps the fact that he was lame accounted for her ready agreement with this advice.

Mrs. Ziółek refused to give up her boarders and move into a smaller flat, even if promised the help of the United Charities and perhaps a widow's pension. She said that when her husband first left her she was in great distress and applied to the United Charities for help, but they did nothing. Very soon after this, in November, 1911, a baby girl was born to Mrs. Ziółek. One of her boarders, Joe Rolek, was the father. He had wanted to marry her but left before the child was born to work elsewhere. The Legal Aid Society thereupon obtained a divorce for her on the ground of desertion and she married Rolek, in Indiana, only to be deserted by him 2 months later. He returned soon, however, but continued to desert periodically.

Mrs. Rolek asked the County Court to help her. After various vain endeavors to collect money from Rolek it was discovered that Ziółek was the father of the first 2 children and he was arrested and sent to the Bridewell. On his release he went to the Legal Aid Society to complain of the treatment he had received and to ask the Society to find out why he had been sent to the Bridewell. He insisted it was his wife, not he, who had always deserted. When he was informed as to the reason he had been sent to jail he was highly indignant. He did not know how nor why he had been divorced but claimed that his former wife was not a fit person to have the custody of the children, that she was living with the god-father of her last child without being married to him. . . . His appearance was unusually decent, neat and clean.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

66. *Grabarski Family.* When this family came to the attention of the Juvenile Court in 1915 the father was 34 years old and the mother 30. Both had been born in Austrian Poland. They were married there and their first child, Helen, was born in 1908. In the same year Grabarski left Poland and came to this country. Mrs. Grabarski and Helen followed the next year. Other children were born, John in 1910 in Johnstown, Pa., Mary in Chicago, 1912—she soon died—and Annie in 1914.

In 1914 Grabarski had been out of work for 6 months. At this time Joe Wieczorek was rooming with Mrs. Grabarski's

brother, Frank Gorski. Joe began to help Mrs. Grabarski and in January, 1915, joined the Grabarski family as a boarder and practically supported the whole family. On Feb. 2, 1915, Grabarski came home drunk and threatened to kill Joe Wieczorek. Joe then went to room with a Polish family who lived above the Grabarskis. A few weeks later Grabarski disappeared. The Juvenile Protective Association complained to the Juvenile Court of the neglected condition of the children. Mrs. Grabarski refused to obey a summons of the court for some months. However, in June she came to court to complain that Joe Wieczorek had left her and that she had been evicted. She was again pregnant.

Though Mrs. Grabarski said her husband had refused to work her brother insisted he had always been steady until she had become intimate with the boarder. The children had always been neglected.

"August 9, 1915, met Mrs. Grabarski on the street. Her husband has returned and they are living [in] . . . rear basement. . . . Says that Mr. Grabarski has steady work in Braddock, Pa., and has come back for his wife and children. Says he has a month's leave of absence.

"December 7, 1915, called at 6.30 P. M. and found the whole family at supper, Joe Wieczorek as well. An empty whiskey bottle and beer can were on the table but disappeared suddenly when the officer's back was turned. Joe says that he is living next door at a shoemaker's but he eats his supper with the Grabarskis. Advised him to keep away and not to bring any more liquor to the house. Mr. Grabarski is now working [in Chicago].

"December 20, 1915, called in the morning. Found Mr. Grabarski, Joe and another man all at home, smoking. No evidence of drink. It was a bad day and they said there was no work. The children looked pretty well. Mrs. Grabarski apparently does just as little work in the house as possible.

"January 5, 1916, found Joe Wieczorek eating his lunch and helping to dress the children, very much at home. Mr. Grabarski working. They have not paid their rent for 2 months and the landlord has served notice. Told Joe he must not be found there again. January 13, 1916, called and found family had moved. . . . Called at shoemaker's next door where Joe Wiec-

zorek lived. He also has moved away and owes room rent. . . . [Got new address from Mrs. Grabarski's brother.]

"February 16, 1916, the children were alone in the house, dirty and half clothed. The place was very warm and there was plenty of meat and potatoes on the table but also a whiskey bottle and beer can. The older children said they had not yet gone to school. I called up Board of Education and reported case to Compulsory Department. . . .

"April 3, 1916 [Monday] called but could not get in. The younger children were evidently in the house alone. Called at Mrs. Górski's . . . and found Mr. and Mrs. Grabarski, Joe Wieczorek and Mr. Górski all there drinking. They had had a grand spree on Sunday night and said they were too sick to work. Told Mrs. Grabarski to go home to the children and threatened arrest if they were not all working in 4 days. Grabarski said he had lost his job.

"April 27th, 1916, obtained warrant for Mr. Grabarski on charge of non-support [but the family moved]. . . . May 8, 1916, called at Mrs. Górski's and found Mrs. Grabarski there. She says that they are living at 721 Ohio St. May 11, 1916, could find no house at 721 Ohio St., but fortunately met the family returning home from market, very much disconcerted at being discovered. [They immediately moved again leaving no trace.] . . . I talked to . . . Mrs. Grabarski's landlord. Said that Mr. and Mrs. Grabarski always had 3 men and 2 women at the house from Saturday night till Monday All drank and were so noisy that the other tenants could not sleep, so he made them move. . . .

"June 2, 1916. . . . Called at Mrs. Królek's and found Mrs. Grabarski there doing her washing. Mr. Grabarski has not worked for a week and is not even sleeping at home, so she had no money to buy coal. She will take out warrant for him if he does not come back tonight; will go to United Charities if she needs aid. [Officer found United Charities already had record of the case. They said that the present situation was no new one to the Grabarski family. Mrs. Grabarski admitted to them that Joe Wieczorek is the father of the last 2 children.] . . .

"August 2, 1916, called at Górski's. Mrs. Górski said Joe Wieczorek was paying Mrs. Grabarski's rent. No sign of Paul.

Called at Grabarski's. Mrs. Grabarski was asleep on the bed. Her children dirty and neglected as usual. . . .

"August 8, 1916, called at 8.45 P. M. Found Joe Królek and Joe Wieczorek there. The former had his hat on and was evidently about to depart but Joe Wieczorek seemed thoroughly at home. All had been drinking. The children were asleep on the floor and the baby in the crib. The latter was a little better. Joe Wieczorek had given Mrs. Grabarski $3 to take him to a doctor. He would not acknowledge he paid the rent. Said Mrs. Grabarski was working and could do it. Both men went out when officer did [but neighbor later reported Joe slipped back later]. . . .

"September 6, 1916, took out warrant for Mrs. Grabarski for contributing to dependency of children. Put children in Detention Home. September 7, 1916, case in Court of Domestic Relations. Paul Grabarski appeared also. He is working in the freight yards near his home but intended to go back to Gary where he was getting $4 a day. Mrs. Grabarski was found guilty and placed on probation for a year.

"October 28, 1916, family is now in the same basement as a year ago, but Mrs. Grabarski is keeping it much better. The children look better cared for. Helen and John are going to . . . school. Paul Grabarski is working in a foundry near by."

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

67. *Kulas Family.* After 7 years of married life Mrs. Kulas complained to the Legal Aid Society that her husband had never supported her nor their 2 children. He made $15 a week but would not give her more than $4 or $5 occasionally to pay a grocery bill. She made $9 a week cleaning.

Mrs. Kulas had her husband arrested and he was ordered to pay $8 a week. He said he would rather get a divorce than pay, so he was sent to the Bridewell. Mrs. Kulas, however, asked to have him released and the order reduced to $3 a week. Three months later he took the oldest girl and left home. Mrs. Kulas went after him and got back the girl. He himself returned in 4 months, but stayed only 2 months and took both children with him this time. He was again sent to the Bridewell but again released at Mrs. Kulas's request. He did not return home

and the Legal Aid Society was urged by her employer to get a divorce to free her from her fear of him. She was afraid he would get drunk, break into her house and either force her to have sexual relations with him or kill her. He had often threatened to kill her. She had always submitted in the past to avoid violence, though he called her vile names. He was often drunk for days. She did not get a divorce, for her children became sick and Kulas either returned home or gave her a little help.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

68. *Rzepecki Family.* Tom Rzepecki was a blacksmith, making good wages, who deserted his wife and 5 children (ages 23 and 16) after he had been married 27 years. She thought he went away with another woman for she found a picture taken with some woman. For the preceding 5 years he had given practically no support, leaving all the burden on the children—even the taxes—while he drank up his money. He had lately taken to chasing the children out of the house.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

69. *Zakrzewski Family.* Zakrzewski never supported his wife nor their 3 children properly, went around with other women and deserted her after 4 years of marriage. But he continued to annoy her occasionally. Twice he went to her rooms and spread such stories about her and created such a disturbance that both times she was asked to move. Five years later he again returned and made a scene, taunted her with being still alive, although tubercular, and said he would have to kill her to get rid of her. She then asked the Legal Aid Society to get a divorce, so as to escape being annoyed by him, but she was very ill and was soon taken to the hospital.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

69a. *Kochański Family.* The Legal Aid Society sent for Michael Kochański to ask support for his wife, whom he deserted after 21 years of marriage, and his child, 16 years old. They had come from German Poland 9 years before. He drank and told his wife that he ran around with other women, but she had seen nothing of this. She did not want him back but demanded that he support her.

He declared that never under any circumstances would he give one cent to support his wife or child, and claimed that she put him out of the house without a penny in his pocket and threatened to kill him if he returned. "When I go out my money goes out. Now, I have 2 good suits of clothes and $50. Give wife money! No, never!" He was much under the influence of liquor.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

70. *Rola Family.* William Rola was an incessant drinker during the first 9 years of his married life. He then reformed and saved for 4 years. He forced his wife to earn money, which he put into a house, while the money he earned went into the bank. He then withdrew all the money from the bank, stored the furniture and demanded a divorce so that he could marry some other woman with whom he was infatuated. Mrs. Rola was unwilling to divorce him, perhaps for the sake of their child.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

71. *Wroblewski Family.* Anton Wroblewski invited Mary Tomaszewski to come and live with him. She agreed and they lived happily together for two and a half years, telling their families and friends and relatives that they had been married. She even took out life insurance as his wife. But when she met a man whom she had known as a child but hadn't seen for 8 years she told him she was not married and began to flirt with him. He was a married man with 3 children but met Mary several times. Anton became enraged at this conduct and complained to his widowed sister who was living with them, stating that he and Mary were not married. His sister promptly drove Mary out of the house, with her 18 months old baby. As Mary was again pregnant she took out a bastardy warrant against Anton. They became reconciled before the trial and the judge married them. They had wanted to be married in a church but the priest refused to marry them because of their previous irregular relation, promising that he would marry them after they were civilly united.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

72. *Szulc Family.* Carrie Kliszewska, a young Polish immigrant, 17 years old, worked in a tailor-shop. One evening she was sitting with some friends on her doorstep when Fred Szulc approached and began to talk to her. After a month they began to have sexual relations in the front room of her home, after her mother had gone to bed, practically every Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday night. In 3 months she became pregnant but she did not tell Szulc for 3 months more for fear he would run away. He agreed to marry her but, since he was only 19 years old, he was refused a license without his mother's consent. She refused to give her consent. Carrie's mother then insisted upon arresting Szulc and he was sent to jail. His mother was willing he should stay there, though she was warned of the dangers of leaving a young boy in jail. She said he would not mind being in jail as long as Carrie supplied him with money as she did before, and as to the moral dangers, he could not be worse off than he would be with Carrie's family who were an idle, drunken and poor lot, one of whom used cocaine. She claimed that her son was lazy and shiftless and had not done a stroke of work for 8 months past, though he was the only child at home and his father was sick. He lived on what he could get out of an older brother, a detective at the Desplaines Police Station, who made $110 a month and had no children. She refused to let this older brother bail Fred out of jail for fear he would run away and marry, in which case his family would be obliged to support Carrie and the child to prevent him from being sent to jail constantly for failure to support them. Her antagonism was further increased by Carrie's threats to make the Szulc family take care of her. She even turned a deaf ear to the judge's requests, though stating that if the young couple had come to her in the first place she would have given her consent.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

73. *Bukowski Family.* Stanley Bukowski petitioned the Legal Aid Society to get his wife back for him but without her brothers. The brothers had come to board with them and made trouble. They complained because their sister had been married in court, though Stanley said they were married in court not

because they had to be, but because they wished to be so married.

Mrs. Bukowski called at the Legal Aid Society in answer to its inquiry and said she had worked ever since she had been married, for her husband would not work most of the time and when he did gave her about $10 a month, was abusive and often struck her. Once he held a pillow over her mouth and only released her when she was nearly dead with suffocation. She would not return to him, for she would not dare live with him without her brothers and besides all he wanted was her wages. Their furniture had all been taken away because he would not pay for it. He was not working but spending all of his time following her about. One night he met her as she was returning from work, drew a knife on her and demanded that she come back to him. She had him arrested but her cousins appeared against her and told the judge that her brothers were at fault. He came to her boarding house twice and tried to get in to her, staying around and making a disturbance from 12 to 3 A. M.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

74. *Ceglarek Family.* Mrs. Ceglarek and her mother appealed to the Legal Aid Society to arrest Mr. Ceglarek. He was earning $14 a week and giving his wife $12 of this but drinking heavily—drunk every Saturday and Sunday. When he was drunk he sometimes struck his wife and was abusive. They had been married 8 years and had 3 children. Mrs. Ceglarek's mother seemed most anxious to have Ceglarek arrested; she thought it might scare him into doing better. He owed her $48, which might account for her hard feeling against him.

Three months later Mrs. Ceglarek again called on the Legal Aid Society and stated that her husband was still working but changing places, giving her $12 a week but still drinking on Saturdays. Her mother was again with her and very dictatorial as to what should be done; she "had even more to say" about the matter than Mrs. Ceglarek.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

75. *Lucki Family.* Max Lucki was suffering from tuberculosis and was sent to the hospital. When discharged he went

to his mother's home and his wife complained to the Legal Aid Society that his mother would not let her see her husband, and that he refused to change his insurance policy for $1,000 so as to make his 9 months old child the beneficiary instead of his mother.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

76. *Przybyłowski Family.* Mrs. Przybyłowski had her husband arrested for trying to commit rape on her daughter by a former marriage, who was 17 years old. She had 5 children by her former husband when she married Przybyłowski 4 years before. He drove the older daughter away by his attacks. Both daughters were working and promised her their wages of $10 each if she would come to live with them. She did not want to leave her husband. He was willing to live with his wife and support her but said he had a hard time getting along with her children, for she encouraged them to be disobedient to him.

Mrs. Przybyłowski later decided she would leave her husband and live with her children, but she wanted to be sure that he would support her.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

77. *Dombrowski Family.* In Sept., 1912, Gustaw Dombrowski took his daughter by a former wife, left home and went to live with his sister. Mrs. Dombrowski went to the Legal Aid Society and demanded support. She had had 6 children by a former husband when she married Dombrowski in 1909. Although he had no bad habits he would often grow very angry and sulky and four or five times before he had taken his clothes and gone away. A conference between husband and wife brought to light the real trouble, which was that Mrs. Dombrowski insisted that her husband's first wife had told her that her daughter was not Dombrowski's child. This created much bitterness and jealousy and Dombrowski complained that his step-children insulted him, quarrelled and used rough language. When he objected he was told to pack up and leave if he did not like it.

For some time Mr. Dombrowski called on his wife and took her to nickel shows twice a week. He then returned, but left again after 4 months.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

78. *Frankowski Family.* Bronisława had known Peter Frankowski in the old country. She had been in this country about 2 years when she had a child by him and had him arrested, hoping he would marry her. They were married in court but after the ceremony he refused to live with her or have anything more to do with her. He soon returned to Poland and she heard he was to marry another girl there. Bronisława's people tried to stop the marriage but the priest did not recognize Frankowski's civil marriage as valid. Bronisława then asked the Legal Aid Society to have her marriage annulled.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

79. *Baranowski Family.* Mrs. Baranowski had had 3 children by her first husband, deceased, and 7 by Baranowski. All 10 children were living with them when Baranowski deserted. Hearing that his wife had sworn out a warrant against him, he gave up his good job as pile-driver at $4 a day and hired himself out in a lumber-yard at $1.80 a day so that when he was arrested he was able to show the court that he could not pay more than $5 a week for the support of his family, which amount he was ordered to pay. The following day he went home drunk and created a disturabnce, then packed up his clothes and returned to his old employment. He frequently came to the house at night, even at 2 A. M. demanding to see the children, because the judge had told him that he could see them. Once Mrs. Baranowski locked the door and he broke it down. The Legal Aid Society discovered that he gave all his earnings to a saloonkeeper who let him draw as much as he pleased, that he spent most of his money on drink and worked very irregularly. The Judge then increased the order to $10 a week.

A few months later Baranowski was arrested on a disorderly charge, fined $200 and sent to the Bridewell. He refused to talk to his wife when she visited him in hope of extracting some promise to reform, and when his time expired he contributed nothing toward the support of the family. Mrs. Baranowski then had his brother arrested for coming to her house, calling her names and trying to break down the door, etc. She accused him of influencing her husband and preventing him from

returning to her. The Judge continued the case to give the brother a chance to persuade Baranowski to return home. Meanwhile, however, Mrs. Baranowski decided she would not take him back but she insisted he must pay as ordered by the court. She had him arrested once more. He promised to pay $8 a week but disappeared without paying a cent. Mrs. Baranowski asked the Legal Aid Society to have her sister-in-law arrested as she was circulating stories about her. But as she could give no address nothing was done. The social workers who had dealings with Mrs. Baranowski agreed with her neighbors in thinking "she was not much good."

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

80. *Lewandowski Family.* The Lewandowski family had been in this country three years when Mrs. Lewandowski complained to the Legal Aid Society that her husband drank and was cruel to her and to their 2 children, a girl of 9 and a boy of 7. She had had him arrested and sent to the Bridewell 4 times for disorderly conduct. Each time some one paid his fine and he came home "worse than before." She said he had not worked in 4 weeks and acted very ugly to her unless she gave him money enough for drink. Some of the neighbors were inclined to think Mrs. Lewandowski was the "trouble-maker," for she quarrelled with her husband very often and talked about him a great deal. They declared they had never seen him drunk. One neighbor, however, thought he was crazy, for one night she saw him run back and forth between his house and the next one, stopping every little while to pull his hair like a crazy person and returning to peek through the key-hole of his house. He ran away from his house a little distance but finally came back and went in. She had noticed other "queer things."

Mrs. Lewandowski said she washed nearly every day and when she returned home at night her husband always asked her where she had been and what men she had seen. He was so jealous he would threaten to kill every one of them. Once she found a piece of iron in his pocket. But on the other hand, she also found some letters written to him by women. When Mrs. Lewandowski called at the office of the Legal Aid Society he acted very "peculiarly" and was "ugly and indifferent." He in-

sisted he did give his wife all his earnings and the rest of his money he kept with a saloon-keeper near their house. He said his wife was a bad woman and made all the trouble herself. He did not care if she did have him arrested, as he was quite willing to go to jail.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

We find in the above material five main factors which, after the general decay of the institutional significance of marriage, lead to the actual disruption of the marriage-group. These are temperamental misadaptation of husband and wife, sexual interests, economic demoralization, interference of relatives and neighbors, interference of the state. None of them is, of course, sufficient to cause a break in the conjugal relation—otherwise there would be no married couples left. But each of them becomes a sufficient cause when acting in combination with certain other social or psychological elements and then, unless counteracted by other causes, necessarily produces a break.

Temperamental misadaptation seems to exist in most of the cases here quoted; it is probably the main reason of trouble in the Morawski, Łapinski and Ziejewski cases. Whether its ultimate sources are physical or psychological—which, in any particular case, is difficult if not impossible to determine—its sociologically important manifestations are remarkably uniform and can be characterized as general mutual dissatisfaction, frequently breaking out in open fights, for reasons which objectively taken are either trifling or irrelevant. Usually temperamental misadaptation manifests itself more in the behavior of the woman than in that of the man, probably because of organic differences between the sexes and because the woman's indoor life and household occupations make her ascribe more importance to

trifling circumstances. The unusual quarrelsomeness of Polish immigrants' wives certainly springs for the most part from this source. In man temperamental misadaptation expresses itself in "ugly temper," often in beating the woman—though beating may also have as its source sexual jealousy or unsatisfied desire for sexual relations—and regularly in alcoholism, for drinking (particularly drinking with friends outside of home) is the habitual means of escape from the quarrelsomeness of the wife—an artificial hedonistic substitute for the comfort and response of home life which the man needs.

But these expressions of temperamental misadaptation would hardly ever lead to a definite break of the relation in the old country, first because they would normally be kept within certain limits by the social milieu, secondly because even if the large family and the community failed to check them the married couple, seeing no escape from their position, would feel the need of putting up with their troubles and in some measure at least would try to adapt themselves to each other. Whereas here not only is there little if any social check to prevent the expressions of misadaptation from indefinitely increasing, but both husband and wife *know that they can escape the unpleasant situation*—the man by deserting, the woman by taking out a warrant against her husband, and both by divorce. It is this possibility of an escape which, in connection with the original temperamental misadaptation, produces in the individual the feeling that his marriage is nothing but a burden to be rejected as soon as it becomes too heavy, and makes him forget at least temporarily whatever positive elements there may be in his conjugal life. The idea of possible freedom, presenting itself usually at moments of

dissatisfaction and struggle, gradually leads to a one-sided definition of the situation—the break of the conjugal relation appears as the only possible solution. Often, in this case, when the break has already occurred and the individual is free, the other side of the question presents itself. The remembrance of the desirable features of past conjugal life gradually brings forward an entirely different definition and the individual is inclined to return. Thence the frequent cases in which a woman who has sent her husband to prison gets him out during his term, the man who deserted comes back home, even the couple who are getting a divorce "make it up" and begin to live together again (see Gutowski). The same performance may repeat itself later—almost indefinitely. This alternative "breaking and making" of the conjugal relation seems to characterize more particularly cases in which the source of trouble is temperamental misadaptation; it occurs, indeed, but less often, in troubles resulting from economic disorganization or from the interference of society, and is relatively rare when the break results from sexual tendencies or from the interference of the state.

Sexual life has acquired among the American Poles a significance entirely out of proportion to the relatively secondary rôle which it possessed under the traditional system. This is due to the fact that sexual tendencies from the standpoint of the family organization of the Polish peasants were not exactly a matter of *morality,* as they are in the eyes of religious puritanism, but merely one of social organization. The relations between the sexes before marriage were regulated in view of the concrete problem of marriage, not from the standpoint of abstract moral standards. There was therefore no idea of indecency connected with sexual questions in

general and any amount of direct sexual allusion was permissible in public; indecency was only attached to sexual words or contacts between particular individuals as affecting their marriage possibilities, which social consciousness required to be determined not privately but socially and in accordance with a strict ceremonial. The feeling of indecency was thus very much akin to the feeling of sacrilege—though less intense—for the latter is also aroused when sacred matters—matters of great social and ceremonial importance are treated by individuals profanely, *i. e.,* informally as if they were purely private. After marriage sexual life as such ceased to exist for social purposes; the important thing for society was the growth of the family and with this all the sacral and half-sacral ceremonial was connected. The relations between husband and wife were relegated to the sphere of strictest privacy and to bring them into public attention was indecent, because it introduced this essentially private matter into the social and half-sacred family system. Conjugal infidelity was indecent for the same reason, but it was also anti-social in so far as it contributed to weaken the family; if it happened, the proper thing to do was to counteract its undesirable consequences rather than to take personal feelings into consideration—to avoid a break of the conjugal relation by all means.

When the large family and the marriage-group lose their institutional significance no check on sexual tendencies is left except religion, which in this respect never had any particular influence. The looseness of mores which prevails among Polish immigrants and astonishes the American social worker is thus easily explained. Sexual indulgence as such has no meaning of "wickedness" attached to it; only its bearing on the family sys-

tem made it condemnable or contemptible. The facility with which "free-love" relations are established—shown in such cases as Michalski and Adamski—proves that the sexual connection between two individuals tends to become in the eyes of the large masses of Polish-American society a matter of personal choice, not subject to any social inhibitions or regulations. If it over reached this limit would no longer be a source of demoralization, for it would not conflict with the socially regulated types of individual life-organization; free love might exist then without trouble, with marriage as a certain form of economic cooperation and an institution for producing and bringing up children, as it did in the European aristocracy of the eighteenth century. But the sexual interest has not yet become generally dissociated from the other interests involved in conjugal life. Cases like that of Rozłowski, where the husband has sexual relations with his divorced wife, but refuses to reestablish the marriage situation, are rare. Usually the complex of tendencies and beliefs associated with marriage is still indissoluble and both the individual's own sexual desire and his expectation of fidelity in the other party remain included in the whole conjugal situation. In other words, most immigrants—men and women—are inclined to treat marriage, *i. e.*, living in one house, having common economic interests and caring for the children together, as the most normal way of obtaining sexual satisfaction, even though marriage has no longer the old sacredness and the line between marriage and concubinage tends to disappear. It is when this attitude is present that extra-conjugal satisfaction of sexual tendencies becomes the cause of a break in the conjugal relation. The individual who is not satisfied with the sexual side of his conjugal life and has sexual relations

outside of marriage tends to break the latter entirely and to establish a real or quasi-conjugal relation with the other person. Thus Gaszynski deserts his wife to live with another woman; Mrs. Piotrowski leaves her husband for another man. Koskowski, married in Poland, lives here with another woman as wife and when his real wife comes from Poland, after some hesitation due to state interference, runs away to live with the Klimek girl again. Silinski, also married in Poland, actually marries here for the second time. Raczmarzynski leaves his first wife whom he married here and, without divorcing her, marries another under an assumed name. Mucha proceeds more regularly, divorces his wife after 23 years of marriage and immediately marries another. In many cases where the woman asks for divorce and after divorce marries another man it is probable that she had relations with this man during her first marriage but kept these relations secret, for example Mrs. Woźniak. The Zieliński situation is interesting. Both the man and the woman have sexual interests outside of marriage, but while the woman, in consequence of this, wishes to break the conjugal relation the man has evidently dissociated in some measure his sexual life from the other interests involved in marriage and still wants his wife as housekeeper and mother of his children, though he is sexually interested in some one else. In general in the woman the connection between sexual interests and other interests seems to be closer than in man, though on the other hand her greater economic dependence and stronger affection for the children make her usually willing to lead a double life whenever by breaking her conjugal tie for the sake of a more satisfactory sexual relation she would risk her economic security or be in danger of losing her children. Thence

so many of the "boarder" stories which have become a well-known feature of Polish-American life. The woman has a secret sexual relation with a boarder and at the same time preserves her conjugal relation for economic and family reasons.

But even if the individual whose sexual interests are outside of his marriage-group tries to satisfy the former without breaking his conjugal tie, the other party may be unwilling to bear the conjugal infidelity of his or her partner and, after trying to counteract it, deserts or divorces. For jealousy seems to persist much longer than actual sexual interest and, along with cases when it really is the manifestation of injured love, we find others where it exists in an individual along with his own conjugal infidelity. Thus Michalski is definitely induced to leave his wife because of jealousy, though he has many sexual relations outside and certainly no longer cares for her, and Mrs. Gaszyński, herself an adulteress but exasperated by being left destitute, throws vitriol on her rival.

It is necessary to note, nevertheless, that the husband's or wife's infidelity, which seems to modern consciousness the most natural reason for breaking the conjugal relations—as is proved by the fact that adultery is the most generally acknowledged ground for divorce —does not to the same degree appear to the peasant as necessarily suggesting a dissolution of marriage. As we mentioned above, in the traditional system the prevalent tendency was rather to prevent it from having a destructive influence upon the family life, and this tendency goes so far as to lead the husband or wife to adopt, tacitly or explicitly, the child born from the adultery of the other. In this respect the attitude of the recently arrived wife of Silinski is typical; she "wants

her man back," though he had been living with another woman for years. The more natural reaction to infidelity is the desire for revenge, and we have cases where the wronged husband or wife explicitly refuses to get a divorce because this would only give satisfaction to the adulterer or adulteress. Usually the desire for revenge manifests itself in the man by physical violence —for however indignant the American social worker may be with a husband beating his wife from jealousy this behavior is perfectly sanctioned by tradition and socially normal—and in the woman by the desire to repay her husband in the same coin. Sometimes the man also resorts to this revenge by retaliation, as in the Adamski case, where Masłowski's vengeance is directed not only against his wife but against his rival as well. Of course, if the indignation at the unfaithfulness of the other party cooperates with the individual's own desires for outside sexual relations the dissolution of the marriage becomes unavoidable as in the Michalski and Ziołek cases.

The Grabarski case is very suggestive. The husband there, after some revolt, accepts the situation of the boarder but makes the latter share all his conjugal responsibilities, familial and economic, by alternating with him in living with the woman and supporting her and the children. It is a regular polyandric arrangement, which shows both the close connection that still subsists between sexual life and other marriage interests in the immigrant's consciousness and the decay of the institutional significance of marriage. As a solution of the given subjective situation it seems to work satisfactorily for all the persons concerned, since no higher ideals of love are active. More than this, such a solution seems to be one toward which the evolution

of conjugal life in Polish-American society is naturally tending, for that dissociation of sexual tendencies from other interests which was once predominant in the aristocracy is hardly likely to develop and there is a restraining influence which will always prevent many breaks of the conjugal relation for sexual reasons. This restraining influence is the children. We have, of course, a number of cases in which the father, and a few in which the mother, shows no interest in the children. But these are so contrary to the deepest and oldest social traditions that they could hardly become very common even if the maternal or paternal feeling has no foundations which are in some measure independent of the changes of social conditions—a question which we cannot discuss here. In any case it is more probable that conjugal jealousy, at least where it is not the outcome of exclusive sexual absorption in the other individual, will yield to parental affection than *vice versa,* and it is quite possible that informal polygamy of both the polygynous and the polyandric type, *i. e.,* the actual participation of an individual in the sexual, economic and familial life of two or more marriage-groups in succession or at once, will become the prevalent type of family organization among the American Poles. It is already much more frequent than American social and legal institutions can ascertain and if kept quiet is ignored by social opinion—which is the first step toward its tacit acknowledgment.

Economic demoralization of the individual as factor of the break of the marriage acts in two ways. First, it provokes a hostile reaction from the other member and thus becomes a source of further trouble, which may finally result in a break. Thus a woman whose husband does not support her may become more quarrel-

some, or yield to another man in order to get support, or appeal to relatives for interference, or have the man arrested; and *vice versa,* a man whose wife is economically demoralized becomes "ugly" to her, or drifts away from home and becomes easily interested in some other woman—all of which contributes to break the relation. But more significant psychologically than these obvious indirect effects of economic demoralization are the direct effects which the latter has upon the individual's own conjugal attitudes. We notice that in many cases where the individual breaks the marriage bond for temperamental or sexual or social reasons investigation shows that this individual also is or was more or less demoralized economically, while there are a large number of situations where economic disorganization seems to be the chief if not the only factor of the individual's unwillingness to keep up the marriage. We refer to Kulas, Rzepecki, Zakrzewski, and there are thousands more or less like these. There is a clear connection here which has been often noted. Marriage requires a certain degree of economic efficiency and it is therefore not surprising that the individual who has become unable to attain the latter is glad to throw off the burden of his conjugal obligations and to desert or divorce. This, however, explains only those situations where the economic obligations of marriage are either enforced from the outside by society or the state or are still felt by the individual himself, who thus finds himself in a painful internal struggle between his unwillingness or inability to make the necessary effort to support his family and the emotions aroused by the sight of the latter's misery, and deserts in order to escape and forget this situation. In both cases the decision to break the conjugal tie is the effect of the economic obligation, ex-

ternal or internal, acting upon those attitudes which make a regulated economic life subjectively impossible. But there are also situations of a different type where this conflict between economic demoralization and economic obligation does not exist, where the individual is neither so demoralized economically as to be entirely unable to support (however unsatisfactorily) his family nor so conscious of his obligations, externally enforced or internally felt, as to be driven to break the conjugal relation in order to avoid them. The Kochański, Perkowski and Rola cases exemplify this kind of situations. Here the source of the trouble must be sought in the general effect which a certain degree of economic disorganization has upon the character of an individual whose attitudes are still in a large measure determined by primary-group traditions. The instability of American economic conditions, while it produces a feeling of powerlessness and despondency in individuals in whom the desire for security is prevalent may, on the contrary, arouse a feeling of personal independence and the longing for adventure in those whose predominant attitude is the desire for new experience. The result, depending on the degree of economic preparation, may range all the way from a reckless tendency to make a fortune by unusual means (unusual, of course, from the standpoint of the immigrant's traditions) down to vagabondage. But in all these cases the individual is apt to resent marriage, with all the associations of stability, regularity, social order, etc., which are still connected with it, as an obstacle to his desire for new experience. And it may even happen—in view of the close connection of all outside interests in the primary-group psychology—that the desire for new experience communicates itself from economic to sexual interests and in-

stability in the first domain prepares the ground for instability in the second.

We do not need to expand upon the interference of relatives as factor of conjugal breaks, since the situation as shown in our documents is perfectly clear after what we know already of the decadence of the large family in this country. On the one hand, marriage is often concluded not only on the initiative of the young people alone, without the assistance of the family, but even against the will of the relatives. On the other hand, since the large family has ceased to be a really coherent group its individual members are no longer concerned in their attitude toward the married couple with the interest of the group as a whole but with their own individual benefit or loss, liking or disliking. The break of the conjugal relation brings little if any harm to the social prestige or economic security of the relatives, so there is really nothing to prevent the parents, cousins or even friends from stirring up trouble in the marriage group if they desire. Motives are easily found and if either of the young couple is amenable to such influences, the break is often produced. Mothers- and fathers-in-law are particularly dangerous in the early period of married life, while the married couple are not yet adapted to each other and the decay of the institutional significance of marriage makes a break appear easy. Later interference is less effective because of the growing estrangement of husband and wife from their respective families—a natural result of the American conditions—so that even such imperfect community of economic and progeny interests as may be established here between the married couple is sufficient to counterbalance external interference if there are no other special factors leading to a break. Very different

in this respect is the case where either husband or wife, or both, has children by a former marriage. Even in the old country familial unity is much more difficult to establish in second than in first marriages. Not only the relatives on both sides are apt to interfere, but there is always some trouble between step-father or step-mother and the step-children, since common life is bound to provoke many disagreements and there is nothing left here to counteract the latter after the decay of the family consciousness in general. There is in the records of American institutions frequent mention of sexual relations of step-fathers with step-daughters, which tends to prove that the step-relation ceases to be felt as a family relation. When the step-children grow the troubles increase and the desire for independence which, as we shall see later, prevails among the young generation leads them often to work quite consciously in favor of a conjugal break between the parent and step-parent, which will weaken even more the already weak control to which they are subjected at home.

An entirely new element is introduced into the conjugal life of the Polish immigrant by the interference of the state, which from his standpoint includes not only court and police action but also the activities of private or half-private American institutions, because he can seldom distinguish a purely social institution from one maintained by the state, particularly as the former does or can, or at least is thought to be able to make use of courts and police. None of the other factors of conjugal disorganization has an equally uniform and general destructive effect upon marriage. After a careful study of many hundreds of cases we have not found a single instance where official interference strengthened the conjugal bond. If occasionally some improvement

seems to follow institutional action it does not come because of, but in spite of this action. Sometimes it is due to some constructive economic or social influences, sometimes again the situation at the moment when brought to public attention was not really as bad as it seemed and a spontaneous readjustment was possible. In a great majority of cases, however, no detailed analysis is needed to notice the immediate additional strain which actual or threatened state interference puts upon the marriage bond.

The explanation of this is easy. The social control to which a marriage-group in the old country is subjected by the families and the community bears upon this group as a unit and has the interests of this unit in view. The rôle of the social milieu is not to step between husband and wife and arbitrate between their personal claims as those of separate individuals, but to uphold their union when threatened by the action of either. The misbehaving individual is made to feel that he sins against the sacredness of marriage, not that he is wrong in his contest with another individual. Therefore the control of the old social milieu increases the institutional significance of the conjugal bond. On the contrary, the interference of the American institution means an arbitration between husband and wife, who are treated, officially and unofficially, as contesting parties, as individuals between whose claims a just balance should be established. This, for the consciousness of the immigrant, puts the whole matter at once not upon the basis of solidarity but upon that of fight where each party wants to get the best of its opponent by whatever means possible. This impression is strengthened by what seems to be the official and foreign character of the

interfering institutions, making any appeals to solidarity meaningless, because the social worker or the judge himself is not a member of the community and has no direct, vital interest in the marriage-group. Moreover, the action of American institutions differs in nature from that of a Polish community by being sporadic and putting the matter on a rational basis, whereas the old social milieu acted continuously and by emotional suggestions rather than by reasoning.

Thus, direct or indirect state interference unavoidably *undermines* the institutional significance and traditional social sacredness of marriage. It does it even in the rare cases when it is well informed. But usually the conditions are aggravated by the ignorance of Polish peasant traditions and mores which characterizes the best intentioned and idealistic social workers and court officials. It is still worse, of course, in those happily rare cases where the representatives of American institutions lack tact and human interest. And any mistake or injustice committed by those in authority is apt to be exaggerated and misunderstood by the individual himself and becomes further, often most absurdly, misinterpreted by the social opinion of the immigrant community.

This is not all. Certain predominant tendencies manifested by American institutions when interfering with conjugal life have already given birth among Polish immigrants to new social attitudes which constitute a predisposition most favorable to further conjugal troubles. Besides the idea of the instability of "American marriage"—a result of civil marriage and divorce —the most important of these are the exaggerated feeling of coercive power on the part of the woman and

the corresponding feeling in the man that conjugal obligations are a matter of legal coercion but not of moral duty.

The consciousness that she can have her husband arrested any time she wishes on charges of non-support, disorderly conduct or adultery is for the woman an entirely new experience. Though under the old system she had in fact a part in the management of common affairs almost equal to that of the man, yet in cases of explicit disagreement the man had the formal right of coercing her, whereas she could only work by suggestion and persuasion, or appeal to the large family. Now not only she can refuse to be coerced, since the only actual instruments of coercion which the man has left after the disorganization of the large family—use of physical strength and withholding the means of subsistence—are prohibited by law, but she can actually coerce the man into doing what she wants by using any act of violence, drunkenness or economic negligence of his as a pretext for a warrant. No wonder that she is tempted to use her newly acquired power whenever she quarrels with her husband, and her women friends and acquaintances, moved by sex solidarity, frequently stimulate her to take legal action. Such action is, of course, radically contrary to the traditional significance of marriage, but this significance is weak and apt to be forgotten at a moment of wrath, since there is no large family to keep it always alive. And the action once taken is irreparable, for the husband will never forget or entirely forgive an act which introduced foreign official interference into the privacy of his conjugal relations, humiliated his feeling of masculine dignity and put him for the time of his arrest on the same basis as a criminal. If the arrest is made by a girl on a bastardy

charge the offence seems less grievous since there is no break of family solidarity; the girl does not owe obedience, and in most such cases the whole relation was already on a fighting basis before the arrest. A marriage performed in court under such conditions is, of course, usually a failure—as our materials show—but if the girl does not prove too contentious or insistent upon her rights, the relation may be established later, voluntarily and without legal pressure; whereas a conjugal bond is virtually broken by the husband's arrest. The man may be cowed into submission by fear but his marriage relation has ceased to imply any familial solidarity in his eyes and is no longer a voluntary union but an enforced cohabitation and economic contribution which taken together appear much akin to serfdom. Naturally, unless much attached to his children or indolent by temperament, he tends to run away at the first opportunity. And the popularization of such facts and attitudes among the immigrants has resulted in the tendency of men to waive all idea of permanent duty connected with marriage. There is no use in trying to make an immigrant accept in this respect the formal idea of contract and admit the principle that by marrying he has undertaken certain life-long obligations, for obligation is significant for him only as long as it is a part of the organization of the primary social group to which he belongs. American law treats him and his wife as isolated individuals, not as primary-group members and between isolated individuals the normal connection in his consciousness is not that of a contract, binding even against one's will, but that of a free association dissoluble at any moment at the will of either.

Thus, in general the marriage situation among the American Poles looks quite hopeless when judged by the

standards of the permanent and exclusive conjugal bond. Numerous causes contribute to the progressive dissolution of the monogamous marriage-group, and there are no important and general reconstructive factors. Perhaps this process would not constitute a social danger if among the immigrants of peasant origin disorganization of marriage were not as closely connected as it is with demoralization in other fields, and if it did not affect the children as it does. For normal social life may coexist with other forms of family life than those based on the monogamous marriage. But it is obviously impossible for Polish-American society to construct a new type of family organization on some polygamous basis, first because this society is not sufficiently coherent, secondly because the American social and legal system will not allow an explicitly recognized and socially regulated polygamy. However general polygamous arrangements among American Poles may in fact become they must always bear the outward character of clandestine adultery and thus not only be officially marked as signs of general immorality but must actually contribute to general immorality, *i. e.,* to the decadence of individual life-organization. The only possible way to counteract this degeneration of marriage is to give the Polish-American society new ideals of family life or help it develop such ideals. And this can be done only by its actual incorporation into American society, not merely into the American state and economic systems—if American society has really vital family ideals to give.

CHAPTER IV

MURDER

There are from the sociological viewpoint two very different types of crime—crime within the individual's own group and crime committed by the individual outside of his group. What are the limits of the individual's own group in any particular case depends on the range within which the ties of active social solidarity are acknowledged by him as binding. Thus, for the savage these limits are those of his particular tribe; for the ignorant old-type peasant they practically coincide with his primary community; for the average modern civilized man they are those of his nation; for the conscious socialist they extend as far as the working class; for the practical Christian they include the whole human race; for the habitual criminal they are not much wider than his gang. Of course, in many cases the lines cannot be drawn exactly, for there may be several degrees of solidarity which the individual acknowledges and in a decreasing measure; for instance, the family, the community or acquaintance milieu, the city and the nation are the individual's own groups. Nor are the two types of crime always sharply distinguishable in practice; there are complex intermediary types in which the characters of the two fundamental types are mixed in various proportions.

The crime within the group is essentially and primarily anti-social in that the criminal who is expected to contribute positively to the welfare of his group acts

instead against it and breaks the principles of social solidarity not merely by not doing what these principles prescribe, but by doing something exactly opposite. The crime outside of the group is of itself socially indifferent, neither positive nor negative, for the social relations between the given group and outside groups are not definitely nor permanently determined. The crime may become socially negative, *i. e.*, harmful to the individual's own group indirectly, when these relations happen to consist at the given time in an exchange of services, whereas if there is an exchange of hostilities going on the individual's own group will appreciate the crime committed outside positively as indirectly contributing to its own welfare. Exactly speaking, therefore, from the socio-psychological standpoint we should apply the term "crime" only to the first type of actions, *i. e.*, to those directly opposed to the solidarity of the group which the individual considers his own. Nevertheless, there is a certain justification in the now common use of this term for certain harmful acts committed outside of the individual's own group in so far as the progress of civilization widens the limits within which active solidarity is required and the individual's subjective judgment as to what is his own group may be much narrower than that prevalent on the actual stage of civilization. Crime being now generally defined from the standpoint of a national state as a solidary group, the individual is not supposed to limit his solidarity to any group narrower than this. But when we do not wish to judge the crime, but simply to understand it we must draw the lines somewhat differently. On the one hand, from the abstract social standpoint we see no reason for limiting the term crime to harmful actions committed within a state, but shall extend it to all anti-human actions. On

the other hand, from the socio-psychological standpoint we must clearly distinguish between crimes committed within the group which is "his own group" for the criminal himself and those which a judge or a consistent Christian would consider opposed to active solidarity but which the criminal himself treats at most as breaks of a truce between his own group and the outside world. In the light of this distinction the very fact that a certain individual or a class draws the limits of "its own group" narrower than the more progressive part of a given national or international society is very significant sociologically, for it proves that this national or international society has failed to implant in this individual or class the feeling of a national or international active solidarity.

Psychologically, the crime committed within the individual's own group implies stronger motives and deeper conflicts of tendencies than the crime committed outside. The power of the motives cannot, of course, be estimated without knowing what are the values which the given group in general and the criminal individual in particular appreciate most; and in considering the conflict of tendencies we must always keep in mind the fact that a hostile act of a member of the individual's own group constituting a real or imaginary break of solidarity is apt to provoke a much stronger emotional reaction than a similar act committed by an outsider.

Murder is of all crimes the one whose interpretation is the least doubtful. Other acts qualified by modern law as criminal may be variously estimated in various milieux under the influence of certain beliefs and customs. Thus, even such a generally acknowledged crime as theft has relatively little significance in the peasant social system when committed within the closest social

group, *i. e.*, between members of the same family, whereas it is much more important between non-related members of a community, though even then its importance varies from a mere pardonable offence like stealing food to a heinous villainy like horse-stealing. The condemnation of theft outside of the community in general decreases again, but there are forms of theft—chiefly the stealing of money—which peasant consciousness always condemns without regard to the harm which the act may bring to the individual's own community. The degree of condemnation to which murder is subjected, on the other hand, varies almost everywhere in proportion to the closeness of the bonds of social solidarity between the murderer and his victim.

When studying murder among other crimes in peasant communities in Poland we had to deal chiefly with the first type of crime, *i. e.*, with murder committed within the individual's own group. Indeed, murders of strangers are surprisingly rare among peasants. The reason is simple. The social contacts between the individual and the social world outside of his own community are relatively few and superficial, so that there is not much motive for violence, whereas, quite independently of any considerations of social solidarity, the peasant needs really strong motives for any abnormal acts because of the stable and regulated character of his habitual life and because of the strength of his desire for security. There were, indeed, many murders committed upon strangers during the period which we have investigated in Vol. IV, but these happened mainly in towns and were the outcome of the social conditions created by the revolution of 1905-6 and could be adequately understood only in connection with a study of this revolution. In peasant life a murder is usually

the tragic solution of some difficult social situation involving powerful individual tendencies, a set of social conditions which make it impossible for the individual to realize these tendencies without removing the person, or persons who stand in his way, and almost always the feeling that he has been wronged and that this person, or persons have broken first the principle of solidarity. Greed, fear, sexual desire, jealousy, revenge, mostly exaggerated by long brooding, constitute the usual factors of murder, and it is clear that situations giving rise to such emotions are apt to develop only within the individual's own group.

Now, from what we know already about the weakening of all social bonds and traditions among the immigrants we can expect that here the nature of crime in general and of murder in particular must be very different. On the one hand, most of the motives which actuated the peasant in the old country either do not exist any longer or are greatly weakened, precisely because all social ties are loosened. An individual seldom, if ever, finds himself here in a situation which seems to him insoluble except through murder, for his wishes, less determined by tradition, are less exclusive, he has usually many ways of satisfying them and no institutional bonds can hold him against his will. There is no need of recurring to violent means in order to get rid of one's undesirable family members, for one can simply desert them. A house or a sum of money which the individual may inherit after the death of his parents does not mean here even approximately as much as the smallest farm in the old country either in its bearing on the individual's social position or even from the purely economic standpoint relatively to his earning power. Sexual desire can be satisfied outside of the one

legal way of marriage. Jealousy still exists but is in most cases weakened by the consciousness that it is possible to have many other men or women beside the unfaithful one. The fear of social opinion can hardly compel the average individual to murder as an alternative to some shameful disclosure, for social opinion has much less influence and can be easily avoided by moving away. The desire for revenge cannot be as deep as in the old country for here an individual has less chance to inflict a really serious wrong upon another and since the claims of solidarity have lost most of their old meaning, a break of solidarity is less resented as such.

But if thus the tragic murder, the murder with powerful motives committed within one's own group, becomes relatively rare here for lack of motives there is a wide field for the second type of murder, the murder without internal conflict and tragedy committed outside of the criminal's group. The immigrant gets into contact with outsiders, with people not belonging to his family, community or even race incomparably more than he ever did, and even the members of his old community living in changed conditions and no longer constituting one coherent group often become estranged from him. His usual attitude toward this social environment is not that of mere indifference. It is essentially defensive, full of mistrust, of a vague feeling of danger, of a continual expectation of wrong or offense. Mistrust toward strangers was the habitual attitude of the peasant, developed by centuries of cultural isolation and by a subordinate social status which made the peasant community often suffer from unexpected social evils whose source it could not control. The immigrant's experiences in this country, sometimes involving exploitation, often humiliation, always full of things and hap-

penings and human acts whose meaning he only vaguely grasps, contribute, of course, to maintain and develop this attitude of general mistrust and his first movement is usually one of apprehension or implicit hostility. Furthermore, the nervousness brought by the unsettled conditions of life makes him easily exaggerate the slightest wrong. This is the background which helps us to understand cases like the following.

81. *Joseph Opalski, murderer of Joseph Stanczak.* Joseph Opalski had been boarding with Joseph Stanczak. Stanczak was 37 years old and had been in this country 8 years. He was born in Russian Poland and married there. He had with him in Chicago his wife and 2 children, 10 and 2 years old. From the testimony at the trial of Opalski it appeared that the relations between Mrs. Stanczak and Opalski were the common gossip of the neighborhood "but nobody wanted to interfere with him." It was well known that Stanczak wished him to leave, "but the wife wanted him to stay. Three months ago Opalski beat him up also, cutting his head. He [Opalski] had more to say in the house than the deceased." Further trouble was expected by all concerned.

One Sunday night, August 29th, Joseph Stanczak asked his brother Feliks to stay with him all night. Whether he was actually afraid of Opalski or wished his brother's help in driving the obnoxious boarder out of the house is not clear. They were all drinking beer together. Opalski said he did not drink anything but went to bed early, though he could not sleep. After he had gone to his room, where the Stanczak boy also slept, Joseph Stanczak "made two breaks to go into the room," but was stopped by his wife, who complained that she was sick and did not want any noise. Later, about 1 P. M. Stanczak went to the saloon for more beer and his brother stepped out for a moment. Mrs. Stanczak, her woman boarder and her brother-in-law, who lived up-stairs, entered Opalski's room and begged him to leave the house because Stanczak and his brother were planning to cut him up with a knife, "they were going to show him American court." He slipped quietly out of the house.

When the brothers returned they went to bed, Joseph with his wife and his brother with the woman boarder—who had a husband and 2 children in the old country and an illegitimate child here.

Opalski states in his confession: "I went over to Peter Altman's house. . . . There I put on my shoes, coat and hat, and went back to Stanczak's and entered by the rear door. Finding the two Stanczak brothers, Joe and Feliks, I said: 'If you are so strong, why, commence now.' Joseph ran towards me, struck me with his fist right by my right ear. I had a file which I carried inside with me; I pulled it out of my pocket and struck Joseph on the head with it. He fell down on his side and then Feliks ran toward me and I struck him twice on the head with the file. And he staggered against the stove and called out 'Women, help!' Feliks ran into the bedroom and Joe was about to get up. When I seen him getting up, the file slipped from my hand and I grabbed the chair and beat him with it on the head. The chair broke in pieces and he fell down again. I don't know how or when the women got out but they were gone at that time. I went into the front bedroom and got my revolver, which I had bought from a pawn-man a few months before. . . . I bought it with the intention of killing Joseph Stanczak after a fight I had 3 months ago.

"I then went to Joseph Polowski at 49th St. I got there about 4 A. M. His brother-in-law opened the door and I asked him if Joe Polowski was home. He answered: 'Yes, he just came home a few minutes ago.' He let me in and I went to bed with Joe and I told him I could not sleep at home because the two brothers were fighting. Joe Polowski got up at 5.30 A. M. and went to work and I slept until about noon. Got up and ate breakfast and left there and rode to Stephen Malecki's, 26th St. I got there about 2 P. M. I changed into my Sunday clothes and left there about 4 P. M. I went downtown to see a show on State St. I left the theater at 9 P. M. and then I came home to Peter Altman's . . . and slept in the kitchen until 8 o'clock in the morning, August 31st. Then I got my revolver and went to Joseph Stanczak's. I entered by the kitchen door and went into the bedroom where Joseph Stanczak was sleeping and fired three shots at him. He was asleep. There was no-

body else in the house at the time and nobody knew my intention that I know of. . . . [Went to his friends; hid the revolver; the next day went to work. The day after] I ate my supper at Stephen Weybeck's, 26th St. They mentioned that Joseph Stanczak was dead, but I didn't answer when they told me. I went down to Stańczak's place and Josephine Stanczak and Josephine Okrasina [the woman boarder] and Binkowski [Stanczak's brother-in-law] was there. And Binkowski told me that Joseph Stanczak was dead, and I answered that his time was come. The women were in bed asleep and I went to bed and slept with little John Stanczak. And no more was said about the death. The morning of September 2nd I got up at 9.30 and went to work. I worked until 1.30 P. M. At the time I was arrested. . . ."

"Q. Weren't you living with her just the same as if you were married to her?

"A. No, never.

"Q. Why did you do this?

"A. [I] done this just because I knew that this man lived long enough. He killed one in the old country. He cut a man out there with a razor.

"Q. Was this man in the old country that was killed by Joseph Stanczak a relative of yours?

"A. I don't know this man at all."

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

82. *Władek Kowalski, murderer of Teofil Snopczyński.* Teofil Snopczyński, a brick-layer, 50 years old, who had been born in Galicia and was unmarried, as far as his friends knew, was killed one Sunday morning in May at about 2.30 A. M. by Władek Kowalski, outside of the home of the latter in Chicago. Kowalski was shot in the shoulder by a policeman but escaped.

At the coroner's inquest it was learned that Kowalski had been born in the province of Warsaw, was 40 years old, a laborer. He had been married 14 years before "in a church" in the old country and had been in America with his family for 10 years. His wife, who had been born in the province of Płock, was now 31 years old and they had had 5 children ranging from 13 to 1 year old. For some years prior to the murder the fam-

ily had kept a boarding house in Gary, Indiana. They had sometimes as many as 15 or 18 boarders. For some reason not mentioned the number of boarders had fallen to 2 in the preceding spring. Kowalski worked on a farm in North Dakota for 3 or 4 months and sent his wife $70. He then changed places, worked 2 months and quit. He returned home in December and did not work any more. In March he sold his home in Gary, receiving $950 cash and a mortgage for $500. With the $950 he bought a saloon in Chicago. But business was not good. He had no money to pay for a license on the first of May and had to give up the saloon, losing the $950 he had invested. What liquor was left he moved to the place where he was living.

Mrs. Kowalski testified that she was not required to sleep with the boarders but had to work very hard, to which the coroner replied: "I don't doubt that you had to work hard. You look to me like a woman that has worked hard." But when they kept the saloon her husband required her to have intercourse with other men. "He says: 'I am not going to work and you got to earn a living. . . .' Several times he pulled a revolver and he wanted to kill me with an axe, too. . . . It wasn't in the presence of other men, but he threatened me that I should do that kind of work . . . and he wanted to throw me out of a second story window."

The following testimony was given by the man who was with Snopczyński the night he was killed.

"I was coming from my home. He [the deceased] was standing on the corner of Milwaukee and Division. It was about 8.30 in the evening. . . . He invited me to have a drink. . . . We were sitting in the corner [an hour later when Kowalski entered]. . . . And he came to us and says: . . .

" 'If you want intercourse, what's the use of hanging around here and looking for something else? You can come over to my home and have drinks and it will cost you less.' . . . He didn't say that it was his wife. He said that he had somebody there [with whom he was 'just living']. . . . The man left that saloon and walked to Warsaw's saloon. . . . He took 4 men out and . . . I asked him if he is through with these 4 men . . . and he says 'Yes, I am taking them there [home],' so I told the deceased that 'I am not going there now. . . . We will come over

later.' . . . When we came over to the house [at about 11.30 P. M.] . . . only this woman and the husband was there. . . . When we got in there he brought out whiskey and wine and placed it on the table and he says: 'Go ahead and drink.' . . . The deceased paid for everything. . . . For the first drink I believe it was a dollar or so. . . . For the second drink it was half a dollar. . . . While we were drinking . . . the woman stepped into the kitchen [in her night-gown covered with an apron and bare-footed. She had been sleeping. She testified that this was the first time her husband had brought men to the house]. And the supposed husband said to her: 'Well, why don't you go to him?'—the deceased. . . . This woman came over to the deceased and they went over to the bedroom. . . . When this lady came back to the kitchen she gave her husband the dollar. . . . When we drank the second drink . . . he insisted that she will go with him the second time. . . .

"Q. Was there anything said then about how much would be charged for the second intercourse?

"A. No. . . . When they returned the second time she had [money] in her hand . . . had her fist closed and was giving it to the man, and I says 'Maybe you robbed him. How much did you get?' She said: 'No, only I got two dollars . . . the first time I charge a dollar because you shortly with me. The second time it took longer so I charge two dollars.'

"Q. Was the deceased trying to get part of his money back from the husband?

"A. He didn't say, 'Return it to me,' but he said it was too much. . . . I said to the husband: 'You had better return the dollar back, . . . [and on his refusal] I am going to fix you. I am going for the police.'

"Q. Who made that remark?

"A. The deceased said that and even I said it 'because you people are pulling a person in here and want to rob them.' . . . After that I saw this man placing his hand in his pocket. . . . And the deceased said: 'Come on, we will go . . . over there and complain.' And when he heard that he [Kowalski] walked out first and the deceased followed, and I followed the deceased and this woman followed me. . . . I was still on the stairs and I heard a shot and this Snopczyński says: 'I am shot.' "

Kowalski ran away, going first to friends in Gary and then to Detroit. He wrote his wife and children to join him there, but when he went to her sister's house to meet her he was arrested. He insisted the deceased had drawn a knife first and attacked him. The detectives who were watching his house entered one night and found a drunken man with his clothes on in bed with Mrs. Kowalski. He said he was from Gary, Indiana.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

83. *John Grajek, assailant of Dr. Witkowski.* John Grajek was arrested on the following complaint of Dr. Leon Witkowski: "I was at the front of my house on the night of June 19, 1916, at 10 minutes after 9. . . . A man came out of the shadows and without saying a word fired point blank out of a revolver toward me [at a distance of 10 feet]. . . . I took care of defendant's wife on the 11th of May. He was peeved because he thought on the strength of a statement I would give him he would collect $5,000 from Armour & Co. where she worked [when she had a miscarriage]. . . . He wanted me to change the statement to show it was Armour's fault. . . . He went right out and handed my statement to a saloonkeeper who handed it to his son. . . . Grajek then said to this young man, 'If this paper is not good for that money I am going to shoot a bullet into the doctor's belly.' [This was the Friday before the Monday of the shooting.]"

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

84. *John Iskierski, Murderer of Peter Wojdyla.* Frank Schneider testified that he had worked with John Iskierski for a year and saw the fight between Iskierski and Wojdyła: "We were making posts . . . and that man [Wojdyła] came and said [in Polish], 'You son-of-a-bitch, why do you come here and jump on somebody else's work. You are taking some one's bread away.'"

Charles Parcik testified: "Wojdyła called [Iskierski] a whore and a son-of-a-bitch. . . . John says, 'Get away from me. I have nothing to do with you. . . . If you won't go away, I will hit you one.' Wojdyła said, 'All right, come on.' Then I saw how John and Wojdyła ran in a fight. I saw him [John]

hit him [Wojdyła] with his hand. . . . They caught each [other]. . . . Both of them fell over against the wall. When they sit up again I didn't see any blood going down but saw blood on the back."

There was evidence that Wojdyła had been dismissed from the factory and that he had had a fight there once before. "He told every one a son-of-a-bitch." After this fight he lighted his pipe and walked away, but later collapsed and died.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

85. *Stanley Koch, murderer of Joseph Murac.* Joseph Murac was a 19 year old boy who had come from Russian Poland 2 years before. January 5, 1914, he and his cousin August Miller were walking along South 85th Street at about 11 P. M. They apparently had started to see some relatives but had stopped in a saloon instead. Miller testified: "When we passed by on German Ave. this man [Koch, whom the deceased did not know] stepped near a tree and my cousin started running. My cousin said to me, 'This man I ain't much afraid of.' . . . Then this man started walking very fast. My cousin walked faster than him. . . . My cousin followed behind. . . . I was a distance behind. . . . They got close up. . . . Both clinched, got hold of one another. . . . I didn't hear anything. . . . I think my cousin was the first to [make a lurch] because he was following. . . . Then I heard a shot fired. . . . This fellow had stooped down when he fired the shot. . . . I was a distance away then when another shot was fired. [Neither the deceased nor his cousin was armed or had any money.] . . . He was intoxicated pretty good, but I hadn't had very much. . . . He like to laugh only when he was drinking [was not quarrelsome when drunk. He was out of work]."

Koch was a married man with 3 children, an electric welder. He could not talk English. A police officer testified that he found Murac's body where he was killed, "a very dark place, almost open prairie." When he arrested Koch the latter said he was walking along when he noticed 2 men following him and that when they caught up with him one of them struck him on the back of the neck and knocked him down and that he got up and said: "What did you knock me down for?" He was

very mad and when the fellow did not answer he fired a shot, then 2 more. He denied laying in wait for some fellow to come along and said he did not know why he put the revolver in his pocket. He was not carrying much money himself, nor did he attempt to rob the deceased. He said he had "a pretty fair load" of drink. "He exhibited sorrow for the occurrence. In fact he cried while telling about it." He said he knew the young man Miller by sight. He lives near him. But the other he did not know. He lived about a block from the scene of the shooting. He said he had found the gun sometime before on the prairie.

From the *Records of the Chicogo Coroner's Office.*

86. *Stanisław Kamiński, murderer of Anton Kołodziejczak.* "I, Stanisław Kamiński, 22 years old, . . . make the following statement. I came from work at 5.30 P. M. August 23, 1916, and I washed and dressed and went over to Jackson Park. . . . I was supposed to meet a young lady there to whom I wrote a letter . . . the previous day, but she did not come. And so I got on the car and came back to South Chicago [telephoned the girl, played pool in a saloon and had a drink. Then joined some friends sitting on a fence-rail at the corner of 85th St. and Brandon Ave.] . . . A crowd of young boys came up to us. . . . They stopped and started to fooling, when one of them said something in English and the other one answered in Polish, 'Leave him alone.' Then the lad that spoke English took hold of his shirt sleeve over the muscle and said to me in Polish, 'Look how strong I am.' And I answered him, 'If it comes to wrestling I will throw you.' As I said this the man struck me in the face and it took me off my balance. And when I regained my balance I started for the lad and then someone else struck me and knocked me down, and every time I got up some one knocked me down again until a crowd gathered. When I was knocked down the second time I pulled my knife out of my right hand trouser pocket . . . and lunged with it in the fight. I don't remember whether it was open or not. After the fight I went home and washed up and threw the knife under the sink." Anton Kolodziejczak had been stabbed above the heart. He died 4 hours later.

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

87. *Władysław Szczepański, assailant of Alex Zachowicz.* "Prosecuting witness Alex Zachowicz became acquainted with the defendant [Szczepański] in a saloon. They had 2 or 3 drinks and went out of the saloon at 1 A. M. An argument ensued between defendant and one Krupka, and defendant fired 2 shots at him missing him. Then defendant came over to where the prosecuting witness was standing and pointing his revolver at him fired the bullet, striking prosecuting witness in left breast. Prosecuting witness then fled and defendant fired another shot at him which fortunately missed. This is Polish warfare: I know of no motive unless it be union trouble or the hot weather" [June 27, 1916].

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

88. *Augustine Selwocki, murderer of Tony Maciejewski.* "I, Augustine Selwocki, am 36 years old, reside with my wife and children. . . . I am an elevator operator and work [in large office building]. This being a holiday, I did not work. About 2.30 P. M., May 30, 1916, I left the house and went to Mike Lepiński's tailor-shop . . . to order a suit of clothes. When I got there Lepiński and about 4 other men were engaged in shaking dice for money. There were 2 or 3 others in the store and he (Mike Lepiński) asked us to shoot dice. I had a $10 gold piece in my possession and got into the game. About 5 minutes after we started Tony Maciejewski came in and joined in the game. . . . After the first roll Tony Maciejewski changed my $10 gold piece and in about 20 minutes the 2 strangers [friends of Tony's] had $6 and Tony Maciejewski had the other $4 of my money.

"Then I asked a friend of mine, Charlie Lees to let me have $1 so I can go to my sister and borrow $2 to order my suit of clothes so my wife won't bawl me out. Then he says he was broke and Tony Maciejewski's friend said: 'Here is $1 and go have a drink. Next time you see me you pay me back. I said, 'Maybe I never see you any more.' Then he says, 'I don't care.' Then I took the $1 and went [to a saloon]. . . . When I was there I met another friend of mine [bought him a drink and borrowed $2]. . . .

"I had a gun, a 32 calibre blue steel revolver all this time in

my pocket. I went to the tailor shop of Mike Lepiński with the $2. When I come into the place I said, 'Here is your dollar.' . . . Then 'Matchie' said: 'Here is the c——r back. Maybe he has got a $10 gold piece.' Then I said: 'You know what you did to me 3 years ago [held him up with a gun. The case was continued by the court 8 or 9 times and then Tony was put on probation].' 'Matchie' said: 'Tell me what I did.' Then I said: 'I will tell you what you did.' And I pulled out my gun and I shot him 4 times. [Went home and told wife, kissed baby goodbye, told a saloon-keeper about it and gave himself up to a police-officer.]"

Tony died an hour after the shooting. A police sergeant testified that Tony had "phony dice and was winning right along." Also "they were still sore" about the hold-up 3 years before. "That was what the shooting was about."

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

89. *Joe Belsky, Paul Sambrowski, et al., murderers of Joe Potala.* Joe Potala was 27 years old, was born in Austrian Poland and came to this country 9 years before. He was married and had 2 children, a boy 3 years old and a girl 14 months. One Sunday night, he wanted to telephone and not being able to talk English he asked a boy, Razor Kudla, to go to a saloon and help him to telephone. They went to a saloon where they had never been before and knew no one. Not wishing to use the telephone without paying, Potala ordered 2 glasses of beer and left them on the bar while they went to telephone. When they returned they found their glasses empty. Kudla's testimony was: "That gentleman (pointing to Sambrowsky) was at the bar and Mr. Potala asked him, 'Where is the beer?' That gentleman says he don't know where is the beer. Then Mr. Potala called for 2 other glasses of beer and this Mr. Sambrowski called everybody in the saloon to come on for a drink on Mr. Potala. . . . And Mr. Potala say: 'I ain't got so much money to buy drink for everybody in the saloon.' . . . And then after he don't want to buy a drink for everybody, he [Sambrowski] talk rough to him. They was all in the saloon and this gentleman (indicating saloonkeeper [Stanisław Mertes]) was first in the saloon who hit Mr. Potala inside. . . . And then after they

was all bunched around Mr. Potala . . . he jumped in the door. He want to go out. And this gentleman and . . . [Joe Belsky] catch him in the door and pull him he should go back in the saloon. And he got outside anyhow. And I run to . . . Mrs. Potala. . . . The whole bunch was hitting Mr. Potala outside saloon."

Potala fell 3 times. There was a slight cut on his upper lip from a knife and his neck was broken, which seems to have caused his death, as no other wound was discovered.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

90. *Julia Majkowska, murderess of Frank Kalinowski.* The testimony of a police-officer was: "On December 7, 1913, at 12.30 A. M. we received a call to go to 1919 Division St. Upon arriving we found the deceased Frank Kalinowski on sidewalk in front of 1919 Division St. He was lying face downward. He was still alive. I asked him who had shot him and he said Julia Majkowska. . . . I spoke to Julia [who had shot herself also] and asked her why she had shot deceased. She told me she and deceased had been keeping company for the last year and were engaged to be married either after the holidays or in the spring, and that on Dec. 6, 1913, in the evening the deceased called to see her at 1919 Division St. and that they visited some theater. . . . And while in the hallway of 1919 Division St. the deceased told her they would have to break engagement and that she could not stand to have engagement broken and so she told the deceased, and that she then ran upstairs to her room and got a revolver, ran back downstairs, shot the deceased and then shot herself. I asked her where she got revolver. She replied: 'I bought it about 2 months ago in a store down town.'"

Kalinowski was 24 years of age, single, a joiner by occupation. He was born in Russian Poland. He had told his friends that he did not wish to marry Julia because "she was no good as a housewife and was too much of a politician." He had been going to night school but gave it up because Julia waited for him afterwards and kept him out so late he could not get up to go to work the next day. He had taken one revolver away from her and knew she had another.

When they were brought together in the hospital after the shooting she cried and kissed him. She later told her landlady she was sorry she had shot him. She told the physician that she had had intercourse with Kalinowski 2 or 3 weeks before and had thought she was pregnant but discovered she was not and Kalinowski had refused to marry her. Kalinowski admitted having had relations with her.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

91. *George Krupka, murderer of his wife, Mary.* Mrs. Krupka was about 28 years old. She was born in Austrian Poland and had been married 12 years. After they had been married 6 years she began drinking. In Dec., 1913, she took Michael, their 9 year old boy, and went away with another man. Krupka did not find her until Jan., 1916. They began to live together but she drank and would not cook. On the 19th of Feb., 1916, he came home from work, had nothing to eat but found his wife drinking with an old friend, Mrs. Mitchell, and a man, David Betley. He joined in the drinking.

David Betley testified: "I worked with her [Mrs. Krupka] in the restaurant . . . 5 or 6 months, and she asked me to come to visit her on Saturday night. She says, 'You come and visit me and my friend [Mrs. Mitchell] will be there.' I came there and this other woman was there. . . . They were drinking whiskey. Then they asked me to sit down while they were drinking. Then [I] gave them $1 to buy wine and beer. . . . He [Krupka] was sitting kind of sad . . . and his wife said to him: 'Why are you so sad, why aren't you happy like the rest of us are?' He say: 'How can I be happy when you won't live with me?' 'Well,' she said to him, 'I like you anyhow.' And she kissed him. She kissed him about 3 times and put her arms around his neck. He says, 'Why do you kiss me when you don't like me? You like somebody else.'

"She was dancing around the room then and she said: 'Davy, let's dance,' some sort of dance they have. They danced around about three times. Then Krupka sat down and again began to look sad. Then she went to him again and said: 'Don't be sad. Why aren't you happy?' He says: 'I can't be happy. I am so sad. I have to wear this belt, I am so thin. I don't feel well.'

He said to her: 'Now, if you are going to keep up with that German fellow'—some fellow he mentioned—'you will see me dead and you also.' And she says, 'I don't care what happens.' Then they kept on quarrelling about this German. He accused her of going to see some German. Then he tried to tell her not to do those things. [She said] she could have it settled through the police and not quarrel about it. And he said he didn't have to settle anything in courts or anything of that kind.

"And she put her coat on and said she was going to run away. And then she took her coat and her pocket book and she wanted to go away. Then he went and stood at the door and he says: 'Don't go. I won't do anything. You don't go away.' He stood there, and she took her pocket-book and hit him in the face. Then . . . this man got awful excited [and killed his wife with a hatchet]."

This happened about 10.30 P. M. The boy was asleep in the adjoining room—they had but the 2 rooms. When Krupka was arrested he said he had so much trouble about this other man, though he had wanted to live decently, that he thought he might as well kill her and hang. But when he became sober he was filled with horror at what he had done and could not understand how he had come to do it. He made no attempt to protect himself and the state appointed in his behalf an attorney who was totally inexperienced. Krupka was sentenced to death, but his boy made an eloquent appeal to the judge and the *Tribune's* interest was aroused with the result that the sentence was changed into a life imprisonment.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office, Records of the Cook County Criminal Court,* and *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

We see that out of the murder cases here quoted only the two last belong to the first of the two types which we have distinguished, *i. e.,* they are committed against individuals with whom the murderer normally should be unified by bonds of active solidarity and involve really important motives. All the others are murders of people who are not in an indissoluble way connected with the murderer's life and the motives are

trifling, not only from the observer's point of view but even from that of the Polish-American society. In reality the proportion of murders without emotional conflict and strong motives is even greater than in our selection—so much so that apparently unmotivated and therefore incomprehensible and incalculable aggressiveness has come to be considered by the American police as a special characteristic of the Poles (*Cf.* the term "Polish warfare" used by the policeman reporting the Szczepański case).

There is a common feature in all these cases of murder of the second type. The crime is always a reaction to some present or past act of aggression. The act may be insignificant in its outward manifestation—perhaps no more than a slighting remark or an expression of boisterousness; it may be even only a reaction to the murderer's own aggressive move. Evidently, however, it is not the objective side of the act which is important but the meaning given to it by the man who answers by a murderous attempt. Now, this meaning is clear; the aggressive act is interpreted by the individual against whom it is directed as a provocation to fight. The psychological background of this interpretation is that general mistrust toward the social environment, the vague expectation of hostility which we have above characterized.

Even so, however, this does not explain why an apparent provocation to fight should ever lead him to a murderous assault. A socially normal individual might ignore the provocation, or appeal to his social milieu for arbitration, or have recourse to law as an instrument of struggle and redress, or indulge in a fist fight, or finally, follow the traditional "code of honor" of European nobility and fight a regular duel. The murder-

ous reaction implies in the immigrant a pre-disposition different from those which we find in any organized society. The explanation seems to lie in the fact that the murderer does not feel himself backed in his dealings with the outside world by any strong social group of his own and is not conscious of being the member of a steadily organized society.[1] His family is too weak and scattered to give him a safe social refuge where he could obtain all the response and recognition he needs and ignore outside provocations in the feeling of his social importance and security. The new Polish-American community is not a proper arbiter in personal struggles, since it does not have any coercive power and is in general not much interested in individual needs. The American law and police system are too different from what the peasant considers proper justice to become identified in his eyes with social order; they stand usually for a power which is often incomprehensible in its impersonal, institutional character and seems arbitrary in its applications from case to case. The Polish peasant likes to appeal to law as an instrument of fight and would very frequently do so during the first period of his stay in this country if he understood the institutions. But often by the time he begins to be able to utilize these institutions he has already forgotten the tradition of going to law in personal struggles and become accustomed to the idea of self-redress. Only the woman, less capable of self-redress, always uses—and

[1] All this, of course, does not apply to the relatively intelligent and socially responsive immigrants who take an active part in the construction of Polish institutions and have an economic ideal which gives stability to their lives. Among the settled majority of Polish-American society there may be disorganization of family life, but very little real crime. The latter grows among that floating, unorganized mass of intellectually backward immigrant population which constitutes among the Poles from one-quarter to one-third of the total number.

frequently abuses—the courts. We notice in the Opalski case the expression "they will show him American court," which proves that the method of self-redress in general has been particularly associated with American life. Of course, this evolution has been helped by the influence of the American underworld with which many of the immigrants come in contact.

In short, the immigrant—or more exactly, the uneducated and socially non-constructive immigrant—feels himself here in a human wilderness, with nobody and nothing but his physical strength to rely upon, just as if he were in a wild forest or prairie. The result is that the social schemes by which the relations between people not bound by ties of social solidarity were determined gradually drop from consciousness and the individual's behavior with regard to strangers and half-strangers becomes the direct, unreflective and unrestrained expression of his temperament, modified by the mood of the moment. The unusual nervous strain of modern city life heightens the variability of the individual's moods and consequently his behavior appears often as incomprehensible and incalculable even to those who know his normal temperament. Whether in such conditions the individual who becomes an object of aggression will commit a murder, or calmly walk away, or treat his aggressor in a saloon, depends no longer on any social customs or beliefs but merely on his innate fighting disposition and his momentary physical and mental state.

The two cases of socially motivated murder, Krupka and Majkowska, are also, in this particular form, the specific product of Polish-American life. They are much less akin to the other murder cases than to those examples of utter despondency of which many are scat-

tered through our previous materials. Krupka might as well have committed suicide; the meaning of the situation would have been the same. In each of these cases an individual whose fundamental attitudes are still in accordance with the old traditions is in a close personal relation with another whose behavior is a product of the partly disorganized conditions of Polish-American life. A break is unavoidable; but, while for the "adapted" it is merely a matter of new experience without any deeper sentimental or moral significance, for the "unadapted" it is a personal injury and a moral wrong to be tragically avenged.

CHAPTER V

VAGABONDAGE AND DELINQUENCY OF BOYS

In the cases studied in the two preceding chapters some of the individuals belonged to what is commonly called the second and others—to use an exact though awkward term—to the half-second generation, *i. e.,* they were born here or came here as children with their parents and were thus wholly or partly reared in America. We did not think it necessary for the purposes which we were then pursuing to distinguish these cases from those in which the immigrants were fully grown up when they arrived in this country, because as far as actual demoralization, *i. e.,* the decay of an existing life-organization is concerned, the difference between the first and the second and half-second generations is more a matter of degree than of nature. For in so far as the child of the immigrant has any life-organization socially implanted in him in this country, this organization, while differing with regard to its practical schemes, from the traditional one and usually less complete and strong, is nevertheless still essentially identical with the latter in its most important social and moral principles. Demoralization in the proper sense of the term, *i. e.,* the decay of this life-organization, is therefore similar in its general outlines whether the individual whose moral system is decaying was brought up exclusively in the old country or partly or wholly in a Polish-American community. The process of social disorganization is continuous and increases in intensity rather than

changes in character when passing from the first to the half-second and second generations.

But an entirely new side of the whole question is disclosed when we ask ourselves not how the young generation loses a life-organization that it has acquired but how it ever acquires a life-organization at all. For then it proves that, while in relatively organized and isolated Polish-American communities—particularly in provincial towns—the economically most settled and socially most active part of the population can still impart to the growing youth a certain minimum of normal and vital principles of behavior, there is a large proportion of immigrant children—particularly in large cities—whose home and community conditions are such that their behavior is never socially regulated, no life-organization worthy of the name is ever imposed upon them. Their status is, exactly speaking, not that of demoralization—for demoralization presupposes the loss of a moral system and they never had any moral system to lose—it is simple and plain "a-morality." If personal character is the product of social education acting upon a given temperamental foundation, such individuals in the most radical cases have no character, good or bad. They are originally in a condition similar to that which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, even socially formed individuals can reach if left outside of any organized social group and subjected to destructive influences—a condition of passive or active wildness in which behavior is not controlled by social customs and beliefs but directly conditioned by temperamental tendencies and swayed by momentary moods.

Such is the fundamental significance of the cases which we are to investigate in this and the following chapter. When we have to deal with an individual who

evidently had no social education and therefore no moral status to lose, our problem is not what were the negative influences which led him astray and demoralized him. Such a way of putting the problem is very common, but it implicitly rests upon the false presupposition that man has an innate system of morality which would make him socially normal if he were not subjected to external demoralizing forces. Our problem will be just the opposite, namely, given an a-moral individual following merely his impulses, what are the socially constructive influences which tend to develop in him a normal life-organization and why do they fail or succeed.[1]

92. *John Falarski.*[2] John was 13 years old when his mother died March 8th, 1915. There were 4 younger children. Mr. Falarski remarried a few weeks later but after 2 weeks his wife left him. She had him arrested for non-support. She said that 2 weeks after their marriage he wanted her to go out to work and she would never live with him again. He had been out of work 8 months. His brother-in-law complained that he neglected the children, did not give them the proper food and that he had seen him with other women. The father said he had a housekeeper now, so the judge gave children to him on probation. In the beginning of October the Juvenile Protective Association was notified that John was sleeping on the prairie. The visitor "found that John had been away from the house for about a week but was lurking in the neighborhood and had twice met his sisters on their way to school and had asked them to bring him food. . . . [His sister wrote] 'Dear Sir: Will you pleas tire to get my brother that ran away from home. He says very bad wrods on the lady [housekeeper]. He says that

[1] We may, indeed, meet cases where, judging from the social conditions in which the individual has been reared, it seems as if he should have had a-morality to start with. In these cases we must evidently investigate whether this presumption is justified, and if so consider the problem of the breakdown of this morality.

[2] The names of delinquent boys and girls are fictitious.

he don't want to see our father any more. The lady was calling him but did not want to come. He wants to broke all the windows and doors. He digs a hole under the house and get in. He took 11 cents from me. He took my and sister's lunches and when we go to school he hits us. He takes my little brother and learns to bum. To Mr. House, From the dare little girl Sophie Falarski.' Called at home. Saw Frank. Found rooms clean. Housekeeper said other children were at school. John was away for a week on a bum but returned Sunday, Oct. 17th. . . . John back again in the 7th grade and doing nicely. . . .

"November 27, 1915, saw father and all of the children except John at home. The father said that he had been without a housekeeper about 2 weeks but was trying to get another. John had been gone 3 days. . . . December 30, case in court. . . . Last week he was picked up by the police. The day before he was picked up . . . he took a dollar from a boy on the street. . . . [John said] 'I don't like to go to school; it is too hard. History I can't remember.' . . . Paroled to live with father. [Good reports for some time, but then again John left home. Was rough and abusive to his sisters.] . . .

"June 13, 1916, in court. [Complaint.] . . . 'This boy stole a bicycle from a little boy in March. He also stole some bread. . . . This boy is always running away from home and in winter time he sleeps in chicken coops. . . . The father is a peculiar man. He is a capable man. He makes $28 a week.' Judge: 'This boy is an exceptionally bright boy.' . . . [John said he made $5 when he was away. Slept 'in some hall of under steps,' lost his job because he was sent with a bundle and lost it in the car.] 'I was passing through and I knew that boy, but I did not know his name. He had a bicycle. I asked him for a ride and I had a bicycle bell and he gave me a ride for it. I took a ride and he forgot to take the bicycle and when we came back it was gone.

"Judge: Where did you put the bicycle?

"A. In front of his house. . . . [Placed in the Working Boys' Home.]

"Oct. 20, 1916, in court. Officer: 'This boy set fire to his father's new building in the basement flat and burned a hole in one of the bedrooms.' . . . John: 'I had trouble with my step-

mother.' [Stayed only 4 days with Father Leddy. Father married again.] The first [second] wife, it developed, had been previously married. . . . I understand the present stepmother goes away for 2 or 3 weeks at a time and then comes back. They used to lock the other [youngest] boy in the house and leave him alone. The stepmother refused to talk to any one when she was in here." Committed to St. Charles.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

93. *Joe and John Kasperek.* Mr. and Mrs. Kasperek were married in Galicia and came to Chicago in 1902. John was born 1903, Joe in 1905, Mary 1908 and Stanley 1910. Mrs. Kasperek died in 1911 and Kasperek married again in 1912. A girl was born in 1913. In July, 1913, John and Joe left home separately. After 8 days John was picked up by an officer, but Joe was gone 5 weeks. Joe had a record for repeatedly running away during the last 2 years. Once he had taken his little sister and kept her 4 days. They slept in sheds and under sidewalks. The truant officer said he had had trouble with the boys for years but would not bring them to Court because their father was too anxious to have them placed in an institution. Father and stepmother both worked, the latter leaving at 5.30 A. M., and returning at 7 P. M. The children were locked in the dirty, miserable house. She did not stay home when ordered to by the Court, but continued to work, saying she had no money for food. The officer wrote: "I always find the 2 youngest children sitting on a bench, never talk, appear frightened." John frequently stayed home and looked after the younger children, but Joe was wilder and was soon sent to an institution. The father was ordered to pay $5 a month board. This he never did and when arrested always claimed he was out of work. John was picked up later and sent to the Parental School also. The parents did not go to see the children or send them any clothes, though ordered to do so by the court. The father pretended he did not know where they were. When they were released Joe and another boy broke into a drygoods store and stole some things. Joe skipped out of the State, but was brought back and sent to St. Charles School. John about the same time was arrested for stealing $1 from his father and leaving home.

Neighbors complained that the stepmother was neglecting the children and even mistreating them, made them all sleep on the floor, and that the house was a rendezvous for drinking people, as both father and stepmother were heavy drinkers. Joe and John were found stealing potatoes from the railroad. Dr. Healy reported Joe in general poor physical condition, enlarged tonsils and defective vision. He had run away from his father while leaving court and told the judge he did it to escape a whipping. The father said: "I do not whip him so bad." Father made $1.75 a day working in a box-factory. Mother said she worked to help pay off debts. Both boys were again paroled to their parents. The Parental School refused to receive Joe back saying he didn't need "correction," only "permanent care" and it must have been by mistake he was sent there in the first place. The family was entirely indifferent to him, neither visited him, nor provided him with anything.

Joe and John both disappeared soon. Once in mother's absence they entered house through pantry-window and took 60 cents. A man reported that he had picked up Joe, given him clean clothes and offered him a home, but he had run away again. Officer called at home one Monday: "I found Mr. Kasperek at home playing the accordion to his wife (he was perfectly sober but very sentimental). Said he worked all day Sunday so was entitled to stay home Monday." Soon he was out of work and Mrs. Kasparek was picking potatoes off the railroad tracks. The landlady said she beats her children. "There was a girl's new bicycle in the bedroom. She said he had bought it. I doubt this very much. . . . Her own girl was well dressed. I censured her for not putting more clothing on the other children.

"Joe was picked up in front of Detention Home . . . had slept for 3 nights in a wagon almost in front of Detention Home. When found was almost starved, dirty and with a very sore foot. Was kept in bed for a week or 10 days. This child had a good record at the Detention Home [always behaved well when there]. Asked him why he will not stay home. He says he does not get breakfast at home. Talked to father and mother. Both . . . have tried to do better and in a measure have succeeded, but for some reason their boys won't stay home."

John was not yet 14 years old and was sent back to Public

School. He attended regularly except when it was stormy, "he had a very long walk and was always poorly clothed." Joe was released and went to school regularly too for awhile. The family moved to better rooms. Joe soon disappeared. The stepmother developed tuberculosis. At first she refused treatment but was soon so ill that she was taken to the County Hospital, where she died. John and Joe were sent to St. Charles School.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

94. *Eddie Czalewski.* October 11, 1911, Eddie 7 years old, his two brothers and one sister were brought into court as dependent. There were two younger children at home. The officer testified that the parents of these children failed to give them proper care, that Tom and Joe had been getting their breakfast out of garbage cans, that they had been begging on the streets," etc., that the mother had let the children roam at will, the 4 year old girl often in her night-gown, that the father was addicted to liquor and was arrested twice, that he had stolen a small bicycle once but that it was recovered and the case not brought into court. The father owned two houses and had two or three women, one that he had lived with in Indiana. He had other children besides these. The children used very vile language. The oldest boy was committed to the Working Boys Home. A year later it was learned that Eddie had stolen $30, but the family was living in Indiana. He had been very bad in general during this year, and while in Indiana he stole small articles in numerous stores.

When the family moved back to Chicago Eddie was called to court but ran away from home before breakfast. October 9th the boy was in court charged with repeatedly stealing things from Department Stores. There was trouble between parents and the boy took advantage of these conditions. Mother was tubercular. "Boy has been arrested in West Hammond for annoying neighbors and destroying property. . . . Parents have absolutely no control over boy who seems to resent all correction, but the father's idea of punishing the boy is to give him a beating and then not look after him for a long time." The boy had been absent from school in the previous term 164 days and this term has been only 6 days in school. Family underfed and

environment very poor. Boy sent to Polish Manual Training School. He ran away the next day and was allowed to stay home on probation.

"November 20, 1913, boy seems much benefited by stay at Juvenile Detention Home. Is now attending school regularly and doing his best. . . . [He ran away again but was found.] Under normal home environment this child would be a normal child in school. Requested father not to punish so severely for not coming home direct from school. . . . [He played truant, saying he was abused in school.] November 9, 1914, talked to teacher in St. Andrews School. Boy continues to run away from school, has been out over a week this month. Boy seems immune to discipline. I am inclined to believe that possibly he is being punished too much in school. Sister said she would no longer keep the boy in school and wishes him brought into the Juvenile Court. The mother, whom I talked with, desires to give the boy another chance in the public school, as she showed me the black and blue marks on the boy's body where he had been punished in school.

"November 14, 1914, boy in public school but . . . continues to disturb the room by his conduct. . . . Owing to mother's physical condition [tubercular] she had no control over the boy. Is afraid to tell father as he beats boy unmercifully. Boy's teacher said that she could not keep boy in school any longer. . . ."

Arrested Nov. 27, 1914, on charge of stealing a horse from a barn after breaking the lock with a stolen hammer. Parents in court. Mother fainted twice. The interpreter stated: "This woman says the man is a brute. For the last 3 years she hasn't been provided for. He won't buy her medicine. He doesn't care for the children. One of the children is already in the reform school. She says she is unable to take care of herself. The man absolutely doesn't care if she would die tomorrow. [Only one of the children, Eddie, is working, and she is supporting herself out of that.] . . . Three weeks ago he gave her $10 and last week he gave her $5. The groceryman would not give him any more feed and he had to do that. . . . He has another woman here in Chicago and stays away 3 days at a time with the other woman."

The father said: "I am buying everything. I don't want to give the money to the woman. . . . I will have to be paying off this $1,000 mortgage. . . . This boy is working all summer and let him furnish the money to her." He was not willing to turn over to his wife the $16 rent he received each month from the two houses he owned. Eddie was sent to St. Charles Reform School.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

95. *Frank Obręski.* When Frank was 9 years old his mother complained to the Juvenile Court that he was incorrigible, would not attend school, and ran away from home. He stayed out late nights and once was arrested. His father emigrated to this country from Austrian Poland 24 years before and his mother 18 years before. The father was at this time in the insane asylum at Dunning. Frank was the oldest of 5 children and his mother could not control him at all.

The judge sent Frank to St. Mary's School for [Delinquent] Boys at Feehanville. He returned after 2 months, with no improvement. A police officer found him standing on the corner of State and Harrison Sts. down town one night at 10 P. M. He told the officer he lived at 69th and State Sts. and gave a wrong name. After the officer looked all over Englewood he discovered the boy lived 20 miles from there. He was sent back to Feehanville, but ran away. He ran away 5 times from this school, all told, and the authorities there did not want him back. He wandered around Chicago and was "picked up" by every police station in town. Sent to Parental School for 8 months. After he was released he went to Milwaukee and "bummed his way back to Chicago on a freight train." His father had returned home and was making $8 a week.

On June 12th, Frank was caught at 4.30 A. M. coming out of one of the rooms of the Palmer House with a gold watch and $16 cash. He had climbed the fire-escape to the 4th floor and entered a room where a woman was sleeping. He said two other boys let him stand on their shoulders until he could reach the fire-escape. He was then sent to St. Charles Reform School. He ran away 8 times. Once when he was away he tried to steal a lady's pocket-book and was arrested. The eighth time the

school objected to taking him back, for it had no facilities for keeping runaway boys. He was then sent to the John Worthy School. He found he could run away even from this school by jumping out of a second-story window. This he did 6 times. Once he returned home and stole $13 from his mother which he spent on nickel shows and candy. When the Judge asked him why he did this he said: "My mind made me do it. I had to take it and thought I would have some fun with it." Later he stole $40 from his father and spent it in the same way, keeping away from home until the money was all gone. He also burglarized a factory with some other boys, including his own 8 year old brother. They took 3 auto truck lamps and 4 spools of thread. Three of the lamps they sold to a junk peddler for 80 cents. He was returned to the John Worthy School, but released for good behavior. The parole officer, however, surrendered him to court saying nothing could be done with him, and he was again sent to the John Worthy School.

Dr. Healy's diagnosis was that the boy needed individual oversight and patient help, for he had some very good traits but institutional care would not help him. He was, however, not given this wise treatment and his downward career continued. When he was 14 years old he broke through a sky-light, made a rope of some old underwear he found on the roof and lowered himself into a Loan Bank. A policeman hearing some noise entered and found him hiding with $9.67 and 2 revolvers. His mother no longer wanted him home and said the court could do as it pleased. He was sent back to the John Worthy School. When next released he was found carrying a loaded revolver and a black-jack. With two companions he held up a man and took 20 cents and a gold watch. He went to St. Louis and robbed a hotel; was arrested but released. A boarder at the Palmer House found him at 12.30 one Saturday morning in his room. He had taken a pocket-book and some tobacco. He was then committed to the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys for 4 months. Even from this institution he managed to escape and made his way to Milwaukee where he was arrested. He escaped from the Detention Home there by tearing a bedspread into strips and making a rope of it. He was taken back and this time he gave his right name. He, however, escaped

again and returned to Chicago. His mother surrendered him to the Juvenile Court. A job was found for him but he would not keep it. He always quit a job at the first opportunity and then ran around the streets with the worst boys in the neighborhood. He prowled nights and slept in the day-time. The probation officer reported he was lazy and hopeless, for on account of his lack of schooling he was unfit for anything but a factory job and he would not keep that. Furthermore, his parents did not cooperate in any scheme for his benefit.

Frank was again returned to St. Charles School and again escaped home, where he disturbed things badly. The judge decided to keep returning him to St. Charles' until he either stayed there or left Chicago. But before he was taken back again he was arrested as he was leaving a room in the Palmer House, so he was committed to the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys. The Superintendent there evidently took a real interest in Frank and put him on a farm, but after eating all he could in 24 hours he took his clothes and literally ran—this though the farmer had told him he need not work until he got acquainted with the dog and the horses. He was a very well-to-do farmer with a splendidly equipped farm and large flourishing greenhouses. Frank had expressed great delight and interest, especially in the greenhouses. But it seemed he could not resist the "call of the wild." However, when he was returned to the school he told the Superintendent that after he ran away he kept repeating: "I will not steal." And he did not steal or commit any other misdemeanor up to the time he was "picked up." He said: "You have given me the first real chance I ever had and I'll make good."

The Superintendent then tried a new "idea." In May, 1916, when Frank was 15 years old he got him a job as porter on a boat and Frank promised to report to the Superintendent whenever he got out of a job or needed a friend. There were no further bad reports of Frank and the Superintendent was much encouraged. Frank had never lied about what he did. Whenever he was arrested he admitted he was guilty and did not try to twist the story or make up excuses as most boys do.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

96. *Peter Waśkiewicz.* Peter Waśkiewicz was born in 1899, his brother Anton was a year older. Their father was dead. April 16, 1914, Peter with 4 other boys was brought into court charged with having cut some lead pipe from the basement of a house. Released on parole. Two months later he and his brother and some other boys snatched a pocket-book. June 1st, he was in court again with other boys, charged with breaking into a number of stores and houses. While every other boy took part in only a few of the burglaries, Peter was active in all. "There was some jewelry taken and Peter Waśkiewicz is the only one implicated in that, he and a man 21 years old." Peter said: "He was going to give me some rings but I did not want them. I didn't get anything out of it." He admitted he was wearing a pair of knee-pants he stole. The officer said: "Peter is really the leader of them. I have had him several times and let him go." He had returned from the Parochial School 9 months before and been arrested twice since. He had worked one month for the Postal Telegraph Co. His mother said she knew nothing about it, he had been away from home "with that kid on Ashland Ave." The officer thought Anton was simple-minded and easily led by Peter. He told about Peter's once firing two shots in a crowd in an alley.

Peter was sent to St. Charles. "June 29, 1914, Anton is working . . . and is behaving much better since Peter was sent away. . . . The mother is getting lonesome for Peter and is going to ask permission to visit him. . . . The mother is a good woman and works hard. The home is good. If Peter is ready I recommend his release." Peter's behavior and progress in the school had been good. When he was released he did not wish to continue in school but got work. "Dec. 18, 1914, saw Peter. He is working and is proud of it. He is now in his 6th week . . . which is longer than he ever held a place before. Peter is a born leader and if ever he takes a notion to turn his talents into proper channels he will surely amount to something. . . . Feb. 25, 1915, Peter quit his job last week and ran away from home Thursday. . . . Anton is sick. He is confined to his home and is not looking for work. The mother works 3 days per week and Anton keeps house. March 6, 1915. . . . Peter is

back at home but minus a job. . . . They held it open for him for a week. We now have to start it all over again. . . . I had a job down town for him at $3.50 per week but Peter will not work for less than $4.50.

"April 12, 1915, Peter did not come home last night. . . . He promised April 4th that he would not run away again and would do better." He was found in a garret with 2 old pals who had some money which they had evidently stolen, part of which Peter took. He was placed on a farm in very good conditions but ran away, and was arrested for burglarizing a house with another pal. His brother had run away from home, probably to join him. Anton was sent home and Peter put in St. Charles Reform School. He escaped March 13, 1916, was caught and sent back June 28, without having done any serious harm, though two of his pals got into serious trouble and were held by the Grand Jury.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

97. *Walter Dygański.* When 11 years old Walter Dygański was brought to court in company with 3 other boys, accused of breaking a padlock on a grocery-store and attempting to enter the store at 4 A. M., March, 1909, and also of breaking a padlock on the door of a meat-market and stealing 36 cents from the cash till. Put on probation. August 19, 1910, he was brought to court with 2 other boys for entering a store and stealing a pocket-book containing $3. "He admitted to the officers that he and his companions were going to pick pockets down town. He is the leader of the gang." It was he who planned the moves of the others, took the purse and divided the money. Officer believes he is encouraged in his acts by his mother. His father had recently died—he came here in 1886. There were 7 children, 2 older brothers, one older sister and 3 younger sisters. "Stanley Dygański, brother to Walter, and formerly a ward of the Juvenile Court but now past 28 years of age, is serving a term out in the Bridewell." After his release he enlisted in the U. S. Navy and sent some money home but was then believed to be on a prison ship. The oldest boy's whereabouts were unknown. The mother worked nights earning $3 to $5 a week.

Walter was sent to St. Charles but ran away, broke a window and, with 2 other boys, entered a drug-store on March 17, 1914. He took $1.61 and some cigars, giving one boy 10 cents and the other 5 cents. The 8 or 9 boxes of cigars he gave away "to a lot of men and some boys." Spent the money "on candy and stuff." He was committed to the John Worthy School. A letter to his mother dated Oct. 20, 1914, said he could not be released because his conduct was so unsatisfactory. "He has been warned that he cannot leave the school until he behaves himself but he does not seem to be able to do so, or else he does not try." But on Oct. 27th he was released. Dec. 23, 1913, he was accused of having broken into a clothing store with a boy 19 years old and filled a suit-case with clothing and jewelry. The officer said: "He would like to imitate Webb. He would like to kill somebody." He said: "It was 6 P. M. I was going to confession. I met a boy and he said: 'Come with me.' About 9 o'clock we came to a clothing store and we walked to the back and seen a little hole. We pulled a couple of laths off." But the officer said they had burglarized a butcher's store before this and taken a butcher's steel, which they used to bore a hole into the clothing store. He was committed to John Worthy School and released June 28th.

July 19, shot twice at a little boy in an alley and one shot hit him. With 2 other boys broke at night into Salvation Army office, broke everything he could and "used the office as a toilet room." Next day broke into a saloon, broke the piano and took cigars. Before this he had broken a side-window of a saloon and stolen $4 and a revolver. When brought to court he said about shooting the boy: "That boy was passing and I asked him for a match, and I heard this boy holler. I took a revolver off [his companion] and fired a shot and hit the boy." His mother testified that he had spent only 3 nights at home since released. He escaped from the Detention Home after his arrest. Committed to John Worthy School.

The Superintendent of the John Worthy School wrote: "He is a vicious boy and will probably never be capable of being turned loose with civilized people. He had a most decidedly evil influence with the boys here, bullying the smaller ones and making all bend to him. He requires one person with him all

the time. . . . I asked to have the boy sent to Pontiac and St. Charles had a representative there [in court] to see that he was not sent to St. Charles. For some reason the judge again sent him to John Worthy. He came out here with his usual bullying methods and threatened to kill some of the boys and one of the teachers. He is just the type to do it and would chance anything. I laid the case before Mr. Whitman and he ordered the boy sent to the Bridewell proper. He is employed as a kind of runner in the new cell house. Even the older timers there say that he is the most foul-mouthed boy they ever saw. He is begging to return to the school, but I know that there is no doubt of his upsetting the good feeling among the boys and of trying to get them to defy authority. I did succeed in holding him down long enough to get him paroled before and I can do it again, but he would not be out 24 hours before being implicated in a murder or something of the kind, and I fear for the other boys whom he seems to have under his control. He is not a weakling like most of these boys, but a natural criminal leader. . . . He is bright enough, but a sullen, surly character."

He was returned to the John Worthy School but released March 26, 1915, after a slight improvement. April 4th he shot a man with a revolver, hitting his left arm. April 7th he committed a burglary in a grocery store. April 11th, with 3 other boys, he held up a man and robbed him of $12. The other boys were immediately seized and he was caught later. The Grand Jury found him "not guilty" and he was released.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

98. *Stanisław Ficki.* "June 24, 1914, Mr. Herrick of the Drummond School telephoned that Stanisław had run away. Saw mother today. She beat the boy last Saturday because he refused to go to confession and he ran away Sunday. July 10, 1914, saw the mother and brother. Stanisław has not been at home for 3 weeks. I have not been able to catch him and neither have the police." He was finally arrested and brought to court, with a gang of boys of the same age, accused of having broken into many shops. "As the mother is absolutely unable to control the boy I advised her to have him sent back to Parental School. This was done. March 10, 1915. . . . Stanley has

been home from Parental School for some time but has not yet found work."

Stanisław ran away from home again and on April 23 was brought to court with other boys for having entered a grocery store and taken $300 according to the victim, $160 according to the boys. They entered other places in the same neighborhood and secured small sums. He was cheated by his companions and got only $36. Committed to John Worthy. Worked on farm after release and improved. "December 28, 1915, Stanley quit work and is running around with Peter Waśkiewicz . . . . Stanley was in court charged with burglary." With Peter and some other boys he stole some money, jewelry and clothes. Sent to Cook County School.

"April 18, 1916 . . . the boy came home from Cook County School April 16th and was reparoled to me. He has a job ready but his mother wants him to rest up a few days. Stanley says he is fully determined to stay away from his old companions. . . . The parents appear to be anxious to help him. [6 children, 2 older girls.] June 14, 1916, saw parents. Stanley drew his pay last Monday and has not come home since. . . . The father is too old to work and the mother wants Stanley to work." Stanley broke into a store with an older boy whose father owned the store. They stole $55.

Dr. Healy's report was: "Stanley has always impressed us as being rather a nice boy. He has been a great failure previously on account of his association with a remarkably bad gang. . . . Peter used to go and call Stanley away from the place where he was working and he once lost his job on account of Peter's interference. . . . I should imagine that the best plan of all would be for the family to move far away, or the boy to be placed in an entirely new home."

The Superintendent of the Cook County School reported: "Nothing in Stanley's home to indicate a reason for his delinquency. The only home visited since Christmas where there was a piano and other evidences of home influence. Two older sisters, nice appearing and evidently good girls. The whole trouble lies in the fact that Stanley is so easily led. . . . Peter Waśkiewicz . . . is really the cause of Stanley's downfall. . . . He seems to be a natural leader. . . . Stanley can get work with-

out trouble. He is a fine boy and there is no doubt of his good intentions. He sees things in a proper light and if his backbone is stiff enough to resist the influence of Peter he will be a credit to his parents. A good worker and quite an expert in woodwork." He escaped from the Cook County School but was returned to finish out his term.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

The documents, as we see, corroborate our assumption that in studying the delinquency of children there is no need to ask what are the factors of demoralization, for there is no morality to start with. Except in the one case of Ficki, all the cases show clearly that there is no constructive influence whatever in the families of the delinquent boys. In some cases (Falarski and Czalewski) the marriage-group is positively disorganized; in the Kasperek case the father and stepmother are entirely indifferent to the children; Obręski's father is in the insane asylum; the fathers of Waskiewicz and Dygański are dead. But lack of positive constructive influences may very well coexist with apparently normal, *i. e.,* not abnormal family conditions. A well furnished and cleanly kept house—a point on which much stress is now being laid by American social agencies—shows a certain economic stability and an interest of the woman in housekeeping but does not permit us to conclude that vital moral traditions or active educatory interests are present in the parents, nor even that strong bonds unite the marriage-group. Even the preservation of active solidarity between husband and wife does not necessarily argue in favor of their ability or willingness to educate their children. Assumptions of this kind are based upon the mistaken idea that the family (by which always the marriage-group is here meant) is by its very existence a constructive

social agency and bound to have a positive educatory influence if only the parents are not completely demoralized and do not actually teach the children evil ways. In fact, the marriage-group organization is a good instrument for imparting to the young generation schemes of behavior with the help of which their life-organization can be built; but this instrument is worthless unless properly used, *i. e.,* unless the parents have a well ordered set of schemes of behavior to impart and know how to do it. And these are precisely the weak points in an average immigrant family.

We must realize that in Polish peasant life the educatory rôle of the marriage-group was something entirely different, much richer in content and better ordered than it is here. The marriage-group was an integral part of the wider social milieu and shared its stock of traditions and schemes of behavior. The children were early made to participate in all the activities of the parents—economic, hedonistic, social, religious—and thus unreflectively absorbed and imitated their entire life-organization. Further, the parents gradually, without effort or reflection, introduced the children into the accumulated body of traditions of the community and into the present active life of the latter and thus prepared them to supplement later from the principles and examples offered by the community whatever deficiencies there might have been in their early education. The parents did not need to be expert educators nor even to be conscious of their moral standards and planfully follow an educational system. All they had to do was to act themselves in accordance with the morality of their social milieu and to mediate between the traditions and social opinion of the community and the consciousness of their children.

All this is radically changed in America. The children no longer take part in the activities of their parents. They go to school or run the streets while the parents work, or play in their own separate milieux. There is still some community of interests and occupation left between the girl and her mother but the boy has very little in common with his father. Education by action is no longer possible. And even if the boy had any opportunities of participating in his father's activities he would not gain much by it for these activities have little social meaning left in them—unless, of course, the father is one of the active builders of the Polish-American social system. Furthermore, the marriage-group is no longer the medium through which the child is introduced into the social life of his wider milieu. On the contrary, not only are his contacts with this milieu for the most part direct and independent of the selective control of his elders but he is often called to mediate between his parents and American institutions whose real meaning he may not understand any better than they, but with which he has a better superficial acquaintance. Any authority which the parents might claim as bearers of the social traditions of the wider milieu is thus definitely undermined.

Under these circumstances the immigrant's home could acquire an educatory influence only if the older generation were trained in moral ideals, if their intellectual horizon were widened, if they were taught how to follow a system of rational education and were willing to do it. In other words, reflective, voluntary, planful educational methods would have to be substituted in each home for the unreflective, spontaneous "natural" ways by which social education successfully proceeded in the Polish peasant life. But this is clearly, at the

present stage of development of the lower classes in all countries and under the present economic and social conditions, for the immense majority of mankind, an unattainable aim. The immigrant would have an incomparably more difficult task in this respect than the average native American who has still a large stock of traditions and whose old unreflective educational methods still work. How large is the proportion of intelligent American homes where these traditional methods are supplemented or supplanted by a new, rational, planfully organized system of education?

If now a practically a-moral boy who has no efficient life-organization inculcated in him is put in contact with the complex life of an American city, it is only natural if he simply follows his instincts and moods, and it depends on the nature of these instincts and moods and on the values which happen to come within his reach whether he will approximately "behave himself," *i. e.,* do things which usually do not fall under the attention of the agencies maintaining public order, or will "misbehave," *i. e.,* transgress the limits of the permissible imposed by law and police ordinances and earn a reputation for wildness or even viciousness. Regular work in school or shop is not a form of life which would temperamentally appeal to him any more than to anybody else, for the habit of work requires a control over temperamental impulses which can be only implanted by social training. He may be frightened into it, if temperamentally cowardly or passive, by continuous threats of punishment, but if he thinks that he can avoid punishment it is only natural that he should be a truant during his school years and later leave every "job" after its novelty has worn off. If his home is associated with unpleasant experiences—lack of freedom, penalties de-

served or undeserved, uncongenial family atmosphere—it is not strange that he should run away from home and try to avoid these unpleasant experiences, for filial love and obedience and even ordinary foresight, which would make him prefer the smaller evils at home to the greater evils awaiting him outside, are institutional, not temperamental attitudes. If he sees things which he covets displayed in shop-windows or pleasures which he enjoys to be obtained with a little money, it is perfectly natural for him to steal, burglarize or rob, since respect for property is not a matter of instinct but of long and complex social education. If he is of a fighting or revengeful disposition, there is nothing to prevent him from fighting or even killing except compassion and fear which may depend on the mood of the moment and in general require an active, socially trained imagination. If the spirit of adventure stirs in him, with or without the cooperation of dime novels and moving pictures, there is no reason in his eyes why he should not launch into the wide unknown world, full of new and marvelous experiences. There is from the standpoint of his own consciousness nothing immoral in whatever he may do, for he knows only conflicts between momentarily opposing wishes but no moral conflicts between a wish and a general norm of behavior voluntarily accepted as binding.

Of course, usually such an a-moral boy, if his temperamental impulses are not particularly strong, becomes step by step adapted to the practical conditions of life by the mere pressure of the social machinery which forces him to develop a minimum of foresight, to choose the lesser evil of work rather than the worse evil of prison or hunger, to keep away from too dangerous adventures, to imitate the example or to obey the will of

other, already settled, members of society and thus to acquire a set of habits just sufficient to keep him floating with the current of social life. He does not become thereby any less a-moral, only learns to remain within the limits of the legally permitted, or more exactly, unlearns to transgress these limits. This kind of passive adaptation is prevalent among the second generation. It produces a large mass of individuals who from the social standpoint are not definitely negative, since they do not actively disturb the social order, but are simply worthless.

Such an adaptation, however, is not possible for individuals whose temperamental impulses are stronger or whose intellectual ability of adaptation weaker than usual. These need strong and permanent positive standards and rules of behavior to counterbalance the power of socially dangerous instincts or to supplement their insufficient practical foresight. Now, such standards and rules can be only imparted—at least in the beginnings of social education—by continuous and lasting direct social contact with either a coherent primary-group or a personality who has prestige. The reasons of the prevalent failure and occasional success of those social agencies which try to give the "wild" boys a life-organization are thus evident. A good school may be an efficient constructive agency if the teacher has a strong personality and if the pupils constitute a real primary-group with a set of common standards. But none of the types of schools with which the Polish "wild boy" gets in contact satisfy all these conditions. The teacher's personality is frequently on the right level; but in most cases the teacher's influence alone is not exclusive nor permanent enough to be efficient without the cooperation of the group of pupils, and such a group in an immi-

grant neighborhood has few, if any common standards of behavior to impose upon its members, since it is composed in a large proportion of just such a moral individuals as the "wild" boy himself, though less active and enterprising for the most part. This is even more the case in a reform school. Under such conditions it is always uncertain whether the influence of the more or less settled but passive majority on the wild boy or the influence of this boy upon the majority will prevail. The personal influence of the probation officer could be a strong constructive factor, but only if it were continuous—and this is, of course, impossible. Those boys' associations which are formed in connection with Polish parishes and super-territorial organizations could very efficiently supplement the schools, for they give some positive social ideals to strive for; and in fact we do not find a single member of such an association among the delinquent boys. But this seems to be due primarily to the careful selection of members which the leaders make for these associations, and it is very doubtful whether a boy known as wild would be admitted to them. Polish-American society, which is more interested in the care of the young generation than in any other branch of social work—it has even provided a reform school of its own—nevertheless preserves even here its principle of self-defense by tending to exclude socially dangerous members from the community.

Thus, the wild boy is in a rather hopeless position. His salvation would be in his being accepted—and forced to stay—in a social milieu above the normal which would give him better training and higher standards than those which are sufficient for the more passive or better prepared types, whereas he is either left to his former non-constructive milieu or put in a milieu

below the normal. The methods used in the few partial successes—like that in the Obręski case, due to the direct influence of a powerful personality—indicate that it is not a matter of eradicating evil tendencies but of persistenly trying to organize whatever tendencies there are for socially useful purposes.

CHAPTER VI

SEXUAL IMMORALITY OF GIRLS

The position of a girl in an immigrant family differs from that of a boy in the fact that the claims which the family puts upon her are greater. She is supposed to be under stricter control even after school-age. She is expected to help in housework if she does not work outside, and to turn all of her earnings into the home. Moreover, the old rule prohibiting sexual relations before marriage is still enforced upon her. Thus a few remnants of the traditional life-organization are preserved for her benefit; her rearing is on the average not as a-moral as that of a boy.

But there are many exceptions. When the parents themselves are demoralized sexually the traditional rule, of course, cannot be efficiently enforced and cases are not rare when the girl is actually pushed into sexual demoralization by her parents. And even when the marriage-group keeps a minimum of respectability and the parents wish the girl to remain "straight," applying to her the old social schemes, the latter have little if any educational value, for the social meaning which they had in the old country is lost in the new conditions and the schemes are empty forms with no vital power of regulating conduct. The participation of the girl in the household activities of her mother has no constructive influence because, as we have before noticed (Chapter I), these activities have no longer the same positive significance for the mother herself that they had in the

old country and because the feeling of familial solidarity which made individual cooperation in family affairs interesting has for the most part disappeared. Therefore also the claim of the parents to the girl's earnings seems no longer socially justified and is apt to appear to the girl's individualized consciousness as unjust exploitation. It was perfectly normal for a girl in the old country to turn over all her earnings to her father or mother, but then she knew that these earnings went toward her future dowry or marriage outfit, and even if the family was too poor to give her a dowry—it was never too poor to make an outfit—she was positively interested in keeping its economic standing above the level of misery, for its standing was her own standing as well. All this is lost here. Finally, the demand of sexual purity was there really a demand of the most vital importance. A girl who lost her "virginal wreath" discredited for ever herself and to a certain degree also her family in the eyes of the community and impaired or even destroyed her chances of marriage, *i. e.,* the only possible form of normal life in her own eyes and in those of her relatives and acquaintances. The possibility of her action's remaining a secret was exceedingly small, and she knew it. The only course left to her under normal conditions was to leave for the city or for a foreign country, which meant breaking all the strongest and most deeply implanted social ties. Whereas here the weakness of social control, the feeling of personal independence early developed by the numerous contacts outside of home, the innumerable suggestions of sexual life pervading the city atmosphere and—perhaps most of all—the looseness of sexual mores in the immigrant community, all cooperate in depriving sexual relations before marriage not only of most of their traditional

social "badness' but even of any really deep personal importance. The whole matter acquires the character of an incident, important only when either resulting in pregnancy and childbirth or when leading to a more or less lasting life-policy—concubinage, with possible marriage later, or a prostitute's career.

Under these circumstances the rulings to which the girl is subjected at home—and which are certainly neither rationally explained to her nor tactfully suggested—appear often arbitrary and tyrannical, and not infrequently, instead of helping to restrain her instincts, stir her to a more radical revolt and from merely a-moral make her distinctly anti-moral.

99. *Stella Kurowska.* Stella was 15 years old when she told this story to the Juvenile Court: "On the night of June 7, 1916, about 8 o'clock Helen Sikowska and I were standing at the corner. . . . Mike and Tomczak and another Mike came along in an automobile and Helen asked them for a ride. We went quite a ways, and then Tomczak said he wanted to [have intercourse with] me. He said if we did not do it he would not take us home. . . . They drove up in front of a saloon and all three of the fellows went in the saloon and stayed there about one hour. Helen and I sat in the car and waited for them. They came out and we started back for home. We drove for a ways, and when we came to a place where there was no houses they stopped the machine and said it was broke. Tomczak went to sleep. Mike, the driver of the car, got out and took me with him and walked me over the prairie. There he knocked me down and . . . did something bad to me. . . . Then they took us back home."

Mike was a chauffeur, 19 years old. His parents had died when he was young and a friend, a married woman, had cared for him since. She stated that he had never been in any sort of trouble before and was always a good boy. Others corroborated this.

Shortly after Helen Sikowska, who was 18 years old, ran

away from home sending word to her mother that she would not return. The home conditions were excellent and the mother said that Helen had always been a good girl until she met Stella.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

100. *Annie Andrzejkowska.* Annie was brought into the Juvenile Court when she was 15 years old. Her story was as follows: She first had relations with a man 7 months before. He was an usher in the Eagle Theater. She went many times to this theater and saw him often. Once she stayed in the theater after the show and they had relations. He later left town but she had his address. Then she met a boy who sold papers in her neighborhood. Another fellow introduced him as "John Johnson" and she knew him under that name, though it was not his right one. They used to go to the park together and had intercourse once in the hallway of her home. She was not sure who the next man was but thought his name was "Nick." She met him in a theater and knew him for 2 weeks.

Later she met Simon Craw in an ice-cream parlor, flirted with him and they became acquainted. He asked her to go joy riding. She said "no," but made a date with him to go to Lawy's Theater. After the show they went to the ice-cream parlor and had hot chocolate. She told him she was afraid to go home so late—it was 12 P. M. He talked to a man and then said a friend had offered to let them have his room in the Triangle Hotel. She did not want to go at first, but he said if anything came up in court he would marry her. Simon's friend took them to his room and went after coal. Meanwhile she and Simon had relations. The boys went to bed and she sat up all night in a chair, none of them undressing.

A week later, on Sunday evening she met Simon in the ice-cream parlor at 7 P. M. They stayed until 8 o'clock and then went to Lawy's Theater. They returned to the ice-cream parlor and Simon introduced a soldier whose name she forgot. She told them she did not want to go home as it was 11 P. M. and she had promised to be home at 8 P. M. The soldier said he knew that the proprietor of the Ohio Hotel would let all three of them have one room for the night. She said: "I don't want

to go. I don't want to be used by everybody." Simon said: "You don't have to," and they persuaded her to go.

The proprietor took them into a room with only one bed and asked what they wanted to drink. The soldier ordered 2 bottles of beer and she drank half a glass. The soldier went to bed. Simon told her to go to bed and have intercourse with the soldier, which she did. Simon went to sleep in the chair but fell out of it. As he did not get up at once she jumped out of bed, picked him up and made him come to bed, where she had intercourse with him. The soldier left at 3 A. M., she and Simon at 12.30 the following afternoon. She was afraid to go home and spent 2 days with a chum. Annie was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd. After two months her mother petitioned to have her home again but the request was refused as there was no improvement noticeable in Annie.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

101. *Nettie Wieczorek.* "November 16, 1914. Mother died when she was 5 years old. Father married again a few months later. She says her stepmother beats and abuses her, makes her work too hard. The girl ran away from home 3 times, the last time Oct. 14, 1914 [had been sleeping in a toilet]. She does not want to go back." She was given 4 positions as domestic servant within 5 months.

"April 16, 1915, Mrs. Brennan telephoned that Nettie had gone out the previous night and had not returned. April 22, 1915, called at home of Mrs. Brennan where Nettie formerly worked. She refused to take Nettie back as girl was too great a trial and did not have clean personal habits. Said that Nettie had run away on prearranged plan. . . . [A new place was found but Nettie left after 4 months.] August 9, 1915, Nettie found by probation officer in South Chicago in home of Della Fox, delinquent ward of the court, and taken to the Detention Home. August 10, 1915, took Nettie to see doctor . . . who returned unfavorable report [hymen recently broken]. August 25, 1915, talked with Nettie at Detention Home; also talked with Miss Culver, who said that Nettie had a very violent temper and had had a tantrum at the Home, where it took 3 persons to control

her. Later I called at Nettie's home and talked with her stepmother who said that Nettie is very hard to control."

The matter was referred to the court. Nettie had run away with a girl and was out all Sunday night. She admitted having met 2 men and had immoral relations with one of them. As it seemed that the other girl might have been to blame, Nettie was given a choice between housework and an institution. She preferred housework and returned to the place where she had been working. "Oct. 26, 1915, I talked to Mrs. Brennan. She stated Nettie has been staying out very late, till 11 and 11.30 P. M., that boys call for her and her thoughts and talk are of men." She was spending all of her wages. One Sunday night a week after the above conversation Nettie failed to return. The stepmother knows nothing of her whereabouts.

"Jan. 3, 1916, Nettie's father called at office, felt very badly over Nettie's disappearance [blamed the court]. He feels she is dead. . . . The police were unable to get any trace of her. Jan. 26, 1916, case in court. Nettie returned home to her father about 10 days ago and he refused to take her. But the next night he did take her in and insisted that she come to court and explain her conduct. She has a very comfortable home with her father, if she behaved. Has a stepmother who seems a very good woman. But Nettie tells me she has been soliciting for 3 months on the streets downtown. It seems almost incredible to me, yet she seems to know all the routine and the ways, mentions several 'rich hotels' where they had 2 beds in a room with bath connected. Said she would go in without any baggage at all and clerks would register them as man and wife. She had no permanent room in the three months, would just use the room the man had engaged for her for the rest of the night. When she did not have a room she would use the money she had for a less expensive room.

"Court: Did you want to do this sort of thing?

"Nettie: Why no, I did not.

"Q. Who first induced you to do that?

"A. Della Fox.

[Probation officer.] "She had gone down to the Beach with Della one time and she said the other day she did not want

to do housework because it was so much easier to make money that way.

"Q. How much money have you been given that way?

"A. Three dollars and five dollars was the most.

[Probation officer] "She told her story so complacently, I really believe she needs training."

Nettie was unable to give the name of any man with whom she had associated or of any hotel in which she had stayed. She said they were all down-town and high class hotels. She was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd, with her father's consent.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

102. *Marien Stepanek.* Marien was arrested for acting "obstreperous" with another girl in a railway waiting room. She had no underclothing on when arrested [in June]. She was 16 years old, had left home before Easter and had been going much to shows and moving picture theaters. She told a police woman that she had been drugged on the North side and carried to a room by two men on different nights. She had been in the habit of receiving mail at the General Delivery and frequented the Boston Store with a man about 45 years of age whom she claimed was her husband.

Marien said she had "no fault to find" with her home, her father and mother were kind to her but she met a lady by the name of Le Mar and told her she lived in Milwaukee. "And she asked me to live with her, said she was getting a divorce from her husband, and I stayed with her for awhile . . . assisted her with the work." When asked where she met her girl friend she said: "Met her at the Boston Store and did not want to talk to her. And she came up to me and she wanted me to fix it up for her. Said she wanted to get away from home and said I should call up her mother and tell her that she was doing housework and told me to talk as if I was an elderly lady, and I went and did that."

The following letter was received from her while she was away: "Dear Mother, I am feeling fine. Everything is all right, don't worry about me. I am leading high life because I am an actress. I got swell clothes and everything, you wouldn't

know me. I had Clara down town one day I was out with the manager. She had a nice time. . . . I never had just nice times in all my life. Everybody says that I am pretty. I paid 65 dollars for my suit and 5 dollars had [hat], 6 dollars shoe 3 gloves 2 dollar underwar 5 dollar corest. Know I have hundred dollars in the bank but I want you to write a letter and say youll forgive me for not telling the truht but I will explain better when I see you and will return home for the sake of the little ones. I will bring a hundred dollars home to you and will come home very time I can its to expensive to liv at a hotel now sent the letter to me this way Genarel Devilery Miss Marion Stephan."

Her father testified: "After Easter got a letter from her something like that one only more in it. She was rich and everything else, which is not so. So she says answer me quick as you can because I go to Milwaukee tomorrow. And I answer it right away to come home as soon as possible. Thought maybe the letter would reach her and heard nothing more until 3 weeks ago and then this letter come and I begging her to come home and be a good girl. She come home and asked if wanted to stay home now and she feel very happy that she is home and thought maybe she would behave. . . . Next day she said she was going for her clothes . . . and I says I go with you. And I could not go and left my boy and girl to go with her Sunday. And she left them in the park and did not come home. Then she was back again Tuesday and in the evening when I come home from work she was not there. . . ."

Marien said she kept company with men for quite awhile, giving three names, but she denied immoral relations with any of them. She said she had been going out with another fellow "but he is a gentleman in every way."

"Court: With whom have you had immoral relations?

"A. Cannot remember.

"Q. Have you been to a hotel at any time since you have been away?

"A. Been to a hotel one time with Helen . . . and a girl, Freda Jones. She lives under a different name, Freda Jarvis. . . .

"Q. Did you hear anybody offer $2 at this hotel?

"A. I heard that what Freda said. She was kind of sore. . . . She said about it: 'What they think I am anyhow, stingy fools. Think I am doing anything for $2. . . . Helen and I laughed at her. . . .

"Q. What did you understand by that?

"A. I understood what she meant by it. . . .

"Q. What did you mean by the statement that you are leading a 'high life'?

"A. Meant had been to cabarets and dance halls. Been going to Morrison Ball room . . . and I went to the 'Booster's Club,' that's the old Morrison place."

Marien was sent to the reform school in Geneva but released in September, as her home conditions were good.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

103. *Katie Leśniak.* "August 22, 1913, in court. Picked up by an officer late at night after having wandered about the streets the two nights previous. Begged not to be taken home. Mother says the girl fell and injured her head when she was 7 years old, since which time she has been in the habit of running away. Does not appear to be a wayward child. . . . [13 years old. Father and mother here 9 years. She was in the 5th grade in the parish school and suspected of being mentally weak. One younger brother.] The home is poor. The mother sometimes goes out to work leaving the girl at home alone. Parents are not capable of giving her the protection and supervision she ought to have." Though the mother claimed she had proper care she wanted her sent to an institution for a few months and then to have her home again. Girl sent to St. Hedwig's. She was released in Oct. and behaved well for a few months, helping with the new baby at home.

"March 13, 1914. . . . Katie has been away from home for several days [since Feb. 1st] again and mother insisted she was at [first one place and then another where she was not found] . . . . April 16, 1914, brought to court with another younger girl for having stolen money and a watch from the purse of a woman in the shower-bath room in Eckhard Park.

Katie told the court she did not know why she left home, that she often left home and wandered around—could not con-

trol wandering impulse and habit she had fallen into, that when she left she worked in a hat factory half a day, for which she received 75 cents, which she used for meals, and on Feb. 14th she secured work and remained at it until arrested April 1st. Josephine, the younger girl, told the court that Katie asked her to go to a show with her. On the way Katie said her hair was falling down and suggested going into the park to arrange it. They went to the shower-bath rooms and Katie wished to take a bath. They looked into different bath-rooms and in one room saw a purse which Katie suggested taking, saying she wanted money for a nickel show. Josephine took the purse and hid it under the bench but when the owner complained to the matron and threatened the girl with prison, Katie confessed and gave the purse back, putting most of the blame on Josephine. As it was proved that Josephine did not have a proper home atmosphere she was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd, while Catherine who was a good girl, according to her mother except for her wandering impulses, and who had never before stolen, was paroled.

"May 19, 1914, held at police station. Claims to have known Robert Smith, a colored man 64 years of age, for several years. He lives in 2 rooms. . . . Learning that girls went there she too went and had immoral relations with Mr. Smith at different times. On one occasion he gave her 15 cents and other occasions 25 cents. . . . A woman named Anna kept house for Mr. Smith about 10 months ago. . . . Five or six other girls frequented this home. . . . [She said] "I went away from home that day. My uncle [father] wanted to send me away to school, so I ran away. . . . I stayed [away 3 days and spent the night] in front of our house in the hallway."

Katie was sent to the House of Good Shepherd and released at her parents' request at the end of May, 1915, and behaved until July 31st she was arrested in a rooming-house with 2 young men. She had intercourse with one, 21 years old, whom she knew before she was sent away and whom the officer described as a "bum." A social worker testified: "I met the girl at the police station . . . and I suggested that she be sent to the House of Good Shepherd but she was very much prejudiced by her past years there. . . . I told her that if she met boys on the

street she couldn't protect herself. She was very indignant in the police station." At her mother's request she was given another chance but was soon arrested for going with another girl, a saloonkeeper and a photographer. When asked by the court what she had to say for herself she replied: "I don't care what you do; I deserve it." But she requested to be sent to Geneva instead of the House of the Good Shepherd—"they all say it is better." She ran away from Geneva after a few weeks but was apprehended through an anonymous telephone message from a house on S. Michigan Ave. After she was sent back to Geneva she again escaped.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

104. *Mary Młynarczyk.* Mary's father and mother were both 52 years old and 27 years in this country. They had 7 children, one girl 30 years old, married, 4 boys—laborers at $2 a day—and Mary 15 years old, brought to Juvenile Court on the complaint of her father that she had left home without her parents' consent and stayed away 5 weeks. The father stated that Mary had finished school at 14, worked at the National Biscuit Co. and at Spiegel's, 2 months at housework and "another place."

"Q. Why did you leave these different places?

"A. Because I did not want to work there.

"Q. It was too hard?

"A. Yes."

She said she worked for $2.50 a week since leaving home. The lady kept the money and bought a coat for her as she had no clothes when she left home. She was not in the habit of telling her parents where she went nor would she ever give her mother any of her wages. She always claimed that she had just changed jobs and would not get her pay until later.

"Q. Don't you care for your mother?" No reply.

A young man called at the house and asked for $1 which Mary had borrowed from him. Mary said he was a conductor whom everybody called "Jack." She met him on the cars, he took her to a café twice, and once they had intercourse. A letter was produced by the officer: "Nov. 21, 1914. Dear Brother, I am writing you a few words. That i am married and i wouldn

like to see yous bother your head about me. I had to get married. I got married last week, that's why i was making so much bother. i live down 55 and boulevard. i married a motorman.

"This letter from your lovin sister Mary Darz. My name Miss Mary Darz and my husband is sending all a yous his best regards i got a nice home. I wouldn get married but had to get married. I field lonesome after yous. My husband name is John Darz and my name Mary Darz I am awful glad that i got married and yous will be glad to. Good-by My dear Brother Walter Mlynarczyk."

"Court: Is there a fellow by name John Darz?

"Mary: He is in my school when I went to school.

"Court: How old is he? A. I don't know.

"Mother. . . . She went to this lady here and said I was away from home with a daughter who lives in Pullman, and she said her father didn't treat her right and she had to sleep on the porch at home and she asked to stay at this lady's house. While there she went quite frequently with conductors during the daytime and came home [in the afternoons] and said work was slack and she was laid off. [The neighbor advanced carfare and lunches to Mary thinking she was working. She would ride with the conductor until time for him to stop working.] She told a conductor to call at the address where she was staying to see her and that she was a married lady. [Mary also told the neighbor she was married and stayed out several nights.]

"Q. Mrs. Młynarczyk, have the Sisters at the school ever said that they thought the girl's mind was not what it ought to be?

"A. No, her mind is all right. . . .

"Q. Has Mary always been so insolent and impudent in the home?

"Mother: She has always been that way, always a bold child. The Sisters said she was a good child in school.

"Officer: In the Polish school they have one-half day English and one-half day Polish. That is why she is so far behind. They say this letter isn't her handwritng. I went to the general office of the surface lines and they say they have no such man there.

"Q. How do the other children behave?

"Interpreter: Well, the others seem to be pretty fair. They go astray and then come home. A boy has been in jail, but he came home and went to work. Father is a good man.

"Q. Did the father have any control over Mary?

"A. He never did anything for the girl." The officer stated the son drank and he thought that was why he got into trouble. The neighbor who had taken Mary into her home said the father drank occasionally but was good to the mother and daughters though strict and quarrelsome with the sons, trying to "reform" them. The mother was willing that Mary stay in the House of Good Shepherd for a year but after 8 months insisted on getting her out to help her. Mary did not get along any better after her return, was disobedient and stayed away 3 nights. One night she was with another girl paroled from the House of Good Shepherd. "The other 2 nights mother says she was with Schultz, street car conductor on 63rd St. Received $2. Believes from condition of her clothing she solicited every day. On the day she called me up and had me take her to the home, she [Mary] threatened her mother's life. Boasts of what evil doing she learned at House of Good Shepherd and how she can make money easier than working. [Mary refused work the mother obtained for her.] . . . Mary admitted going to wine-room with Joe Schultz then to hotel on both occasions. . . . She will not stay home or help with the work. Comes home and changes her clothes and goes out again."

Mary first said she had flirted with Schultz on a car but when the question was raised of a possible marriage she said she had known him for 2 years, he was married and had 2 children. She did not seem quite as impudent when in court this time as before. She was again sent to the House of Good Shepherd.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

105. *Frances Sikora.* Frances was 12 years old when in July, 1912, a probation officer of the Juvenile Court reported that she remained out late nights, sometimes all night, refused to obey father or mother, would go into a room and lock the door, compelling parents to force an entrance, etc. When 14 years

old she was brought into court on the complaint of her mother that she kept bad company and was known in the neighborhood as a depraved child, being accused by one neighbor of stealing a bracelet. She had been on probation and the reports had been fairly encouraging. Every little while there were reports of disobedience with threats of sending her to an institution, followed by improved conduct for a while. For a short time Frances had tried boarding outside her home.

At the hearing in court her mother testified: "She did not want to go to work and also stayed away from home nights, would not tell where. . . . When I looked for her I almost got a licken from the old man. He says I did not have to look for her when she was no good. He licked me many times on account of her, does not want me to go to look for her." The officer stated: "The father is a hard drinker and very quarrelsome. Sets very bad example for the children. The other children [4 younger ones at home] seem to get along and mind the mother, but this girl and an older married sister were the wayward ones." Frances said her father sometimes struck her with a strap when he got drunk. Her mother drank but was never intoxicated. She was sent to the House of Good Shepherd where she remained a full year and "made good." There was no complaint against her there. Her mother then applied for her release on the ground that she had rheumatism and a new baby 6 months old.

An investigation of the home was made. The neighbors reported the "family are quarrelling, parents continually drunk, use vile language and while well fed and kept, the environment is such that just as soon as the girls become self-supporting they leave home. Mr. Sikora is . . . abusive to his wife, insanely jealous, charges his wife with immorality constantly." Probation officer was called to house to put down a disturbance one night at 9 P. M. The mother when questioned admitted that an older daughter, now 18 years old, had had a "wild" career and then married. The next daughter left home because of complaints of her staying out late night. She had been in the House of the Good Shepherd, was not 17 years old and her mother knew nothing of her whereabouts. She asked the officer to go to see the married daughter and bring her home or at

least "look after her." On the strength of this report Frances was kept in the House of the Good Shepherd until June, 1915, and then released.

Good reports follow until, Jan. 31, 1916, "mother reports Frances left home New Year's. Was picked up by officer 5 days later. . . . The girl had been staying with a Mrs. Meyer and frequented a saloon at 35th and Ashland." When Frances was brought into court her mother was not present, though she had been notified to be there. Frances said her mother told her she would "never move a step again" for her. Frances would not confess where she had really been the 5 days away from home, even when her stories were all found false. She at first denied all intercourse with men, but when the physician found signs indicating long continued immorality she said she had been twice with Ben Smith, a hotel clerk who took her motor riding. She even admitted Smith was not his right name but would tell no more. She was sent back to the House of the Good Shepherd.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

106. *Mary Puchała.* Mr. and Mrs. Puchała were born in Austrian Poland and married there. After the birth of one child, Mary, they emigrated to Chicago and had 3 more children. When Mary was 14 years old she was arrested on the charge of stealing some jewelry and a dress and waist, altogether worth $100. While employed as domestic she had entered a neighboring flat through the dining-room window and helped herself. When arrested she said her father and mother were dead. But it was found they were both alive. The mother said she was glad the police had gotten hold of Mary, who stole and refused to work. The probation officer stated that the home was very poor, the father would often not work and they had made Mary begin to work when 12 years old and give all her wages to them.

Mary had obtained her present position by going to Gad's Hill Center a month and a half before and representing herself as an orphan. She had tried to throw the neighbor off her track by going to her with a story of a "big noise" she had heard in the flat, but they had searched her and found the stolen things. Her employer also complained that Mary had taken clothing from

her and hidden it. Mary was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd, but after her mother's death in April, 1915, she was given some housework to do. On Dec. 17, 1915, she took $1 from her aunt and went away. She was sent to the Home for the Friendless. From there she wrote the probation officer complaining that the 2 girl friends with whom she had been staying refused to let her have her clothes.

On Jan. 4, 1916, work was found for Mary at $7 a week. She worked one-half day and then disappeared. She was located Jan. 10 and admitted remaining over night at a hotel four different nights with men. She didn't know their names. . . . 'I was drove away from home by my aunt. How could I stay there?'

"Q. to aunt: Did you drive Mary away from you home?

"A. Yes. She took $1 and I did not want her home.

"Officer: I found out something since then. When she came from the House of the Good Shepherd she worked at housework and took 2 rings there and silk stockings and underwear.

"Q. You hear, Mary? Why did you do that?

"A. Because I did not have no clothes."

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

107. *Rose Swida.* Rose was taken out of school in 1912 at the age of 13 and sent to work. Her father was a laborer, 24 years in America. Her own mother was dead and her father married again. In 1913 she was seduced by the chief engineer (Irish) of a High School. He sent for her and gave her scrubbing work to do at $6 a week. The matter was reported by a woman living opposite who saw through field glasses that the man was embracing her while she was trying to work. Another woman saw her frequently sitting with him outside the building, talking and laughing familiarly. She had thought them father and daughter.

At the hearing it developed that Rose and her stepmother were fond of each other, but the neighbors thought the stepmother not altogether morally responsible. "April 14, 1914, Rose is pregnant. . . . This is the aftermath of her case against . . . High School engineer whose case, charge of rape, was dis-

missed by the Judge 'because of the man's age (54).' Rose still says that she has never been with any one but him, nor more than this one time. . . . Have been convinced that pressure had been brought to bear to influence them [Municipal Court]." A bastardy charge was also dismissed by the Municipal Court "on ground of disaccordance of detail between the girl's two testimonies." Some testimony against Rose seems to have been introduced also. Some boys swore to having had relations under a viaduct with her and another girl. Rose was very indignant and wished to prosecute the boys but nothing was done.

"Feb. 2, 1915 . . . [she] said that many people had advised her to shoot [the engineer]. I said, 'You would not do that. It's a fearful thing to kill a man.' She replied, 'See what he did to me! He might have better killed me.' . . . She does not go anywhere. . . . Says she cannot leave the babe at home with the stepmother to go to work [as stepmother does not feed it properly] and she cannot give the babe up as this constitutes her one joy in life. [Father works intermittently.] . . .

"March 26, 1915, police called up to say that Rose had given birth to boy babe and ambulance has taken her to hospital. She had asked them to notify me. . . . Visited Rose at hospital. Found her heartbroken. Claims one Charley Smith . . . is father of child. Said he promised to marry her and she saw a means of escape from her unhappiness at home. Has not seen him for 4 or 5 months. He may have left the city when he learned of her condition. Claimed it happened one Saturday night when I was away on my vacation . . . her father and stepmother had not suspected her condition until day babe was born and they were abusive. . . . Father does not want her to come home and says he won't have the baby in the house. Neighbors confirm her stepmother's story that Rose was never out late in the evening. Rose and the baby were taken to St. Vincent's. The matter was brought up in court.

In answer to the question of the court as to what he would do for Rose and her child, the father said: "She ought to be sent away somewhere. She was under the control of the Court and she still did this. What can I do? . . . It is hard for me to make a living. There are other children and I lost my job today. What shall I do? She ought to be put under some re-

straint. . . . It is her own child. Let somebody look after her child. . . . She ought to have sense to take care of her own and not get in this.

St. Vincent's would let her stay if she consented to the adoption of the older child. Rose would not agree to this but was willing that the baby be adopted. She agreed to go to the House of the Good Shepherd if she could see her children whenever possible. She wrote from there: "I would not give up Genevieve even if I was to be kild. I should repeat the same words, I would not give her up for lot of thousands of dollars. . . . You spoke to me in good words and I did not listen to you just went wrong. Now I realize what I done and I shall not do it any more. Please forgive me for all I have done. . . . From forgotten child, Rose Swida."

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

The sexual immorality of most of the girls here described is thus in most cases clearly a part of a generally unorganized life, and would be as "natural" as any commonplace action if it did not imply, at least in its beginnings, some revolt against existing inhibitions. We have even very little proof that these inhibitions are ever internal and not merely external. The Leśniak girl seems to manifest some moral compunction when she says in court: "I do not care what you do; I deserve it," and when she complains of an uncontrollable impulse. But she is in general characterized as mentally weak and seems to be easily swayed by the influence of the moment, and it is very doubtful whether her apparent moral feelings are real and lasting. They may have been suggested to her momentarily by the representatives of American institutions who talked to her. At any rate, they evidently are not very deep, judging from her behavior, and there is hardly any tragic consciousness of downfall in her. The tragic touch which indubitably exists in the Swida situation comes originally

not from the girl's sexual relations, but from her motherhood; whatever moral reflection there may be concerning her sexual acts can be traced to the direct influence of the probation officer, an idealistic woman very sympathetically interested in her charge.

On the contrary, the element of revolt against the drudgery and coercion of home life is very strong. Even if the home is not actually bad there is little in it to attract the girl, for the difference between her own education and the traditions of her parents produces an estrangement which prevents an adequate satisfaction of the desire for response, and in view of the traditional supremacy claimed by the older generation, there is no chance of obtaining the recognition which her vanity craves, developed as it is by the continual contact with outsiders. This craving is curiously manifested in the letters written home by Marien Stepanek and Mary Młynarczyk, the former boasting that she leads a "high life," is an actress, has expensive clothes and will bring a hundred dollars home, the latter asserting that she is married and has a nice home. Unsatisfied desire for recognition and the tendency to "square" past humiliation received at home form the clear background of these letters. The importance of unsatisfied desire for response is shown by the large proportion of cases of immorality in which the girl has a step-mother or step-father.

Sexual immorality may be an end in itself (satisfaction of the sexual instinct), or a means to other ends (amusements, clothes, freedom, etc.), or both. The first situation seems to be rather rare, for the sexual desire is seldom sufficiently conscious or strongly developed at the age at which most of these girls are brought into court. We have met a case or two where the girl

seemed in love with a man. Nettie Wieczorek's "thoughts and talk are of men." Perhaps there is some real sexual interest in Katie Leśniak's later relations with young boys, as compared with her first experiences with an old negro, and also in Frances Sikora's last recorded story with "Ben Smith," and in Rose Swida's second "fall." But these sexual interests seem to develop later. The first sexual relations are rather incidental, come in connection with other interests. In the Kurowska case the sexual intercourse is just part of a joy ride, probably one of many amusements of the kind; the Wieczorek girl, shiftless, untidy, incapable of permanent work, thinks it is "easier to make money that way"; Marien Stepanek treats it as a condition of her "high life," including restaurants, moving pictures, hotels and showy clothes, Katie Leśniak begins as a vagabond and sells her body just as she does occasional work or borrows money—in order to support herself from moment to moment on her vagabonding tours, sexual intercourse being only a means by which freedom from school and work is obtained; Mary Młynarczyk wishes to escape from the demands of her parents' home; Mary Puchała begins by stealing to satisfy her desire for pretty clothes and "good times," then has illicit relations for the same purposes; Frances Sikora has for some time undiscovered sexual incidents in her career of freedom and fun, occasionally interrupted by short periods of good behavior. And nothing can show better the small importance ascribed to illicit sexual intercourse than the plain story of the many relations of Annie Andrzejkowska.

The conclusion as to the significance of sexual immorality in girls of the second generation is perfectly obvious. Illicit sexual tendencies are simply a com-

ponent—sometimes predominant, oftener subordinate—of a powerful desire for new experience and for general excitement which under the given conditions cannot be satisfied in socially permitted ways. It depends in some measure on individual temperament whether in a given case this desire for new experience will be successfully counteracted by a desire for security which tends to make the girl stay in the beaten path and follow the rules laid down by society. But this depends also, perhaps in a still larger measure, on the question what attractions are offered by society to those who stay in the beaten path. And these attractions are certainly neither many nor strong for the daughter of a Polish immigrant. First school, which to her mind does not lead anywhere, is not a means to any definite end. Then dependent and meaningless housework at home or tiresome shopwork with no profit to herself. Later marriage and, after a few short new experiences, continuation of the same meaningless work from day to day without any new outlook for the future, with children as the only important genuine interest—and this has to be bought at the cost of pain, ceaseless toil, increased poverty and diminished chances for personal pleasure. There is little response at any period of her life from parents, husband or children, little recognition, for in a loose community recognition does not come as a reward of "sterling moral qualities" and "honest labor" but goes to all kinds of superficial brilliancy and show.

Perhaps the girl would settle down unrevoltingly to this steady life, however dull, if the apparent possibilities of an entirely different life, full of excitement, pleasure, luxury and showing-off were not continually displayed before her eyes in an American city. Shop windows, theaters, the press, street life with its display

of wealth, beauty and fashion, all this forms too striking a contrast to the monotony of the prospect which awaits her if she remains a "good girl." If she felt definitely and irremediably shut off from this "high life" by practically impassable class barriers, as a peasant girl in Europe feels, she might look at all this show of luxury as upon an interesting spectacle with no dream of playing a rôle in it herself. But even aside from the idea of democracy—which though it does not mean much to her politically, teaches her to think that the only social differences between people are differences of wealth—she feels that some small part at last of this gorgeousness actually is within her reach, and her imagination pictures to her indefinite possibilities of further advance in the future. Sooner or later, of course, she will be forced back into her destined channel by society, by the state, by economic conditions, will be forcibly "reformed" and settled, not into a satisfied, positively moral course of life but to a more or less dissatisfied acceptance of the necessary practical limitations of her desires and of the more or less superficial rules of *decorum*. But before her dreams are dispelled she tries to realize them as far as she can. We have here, of course, only one specification of the unrest which characterizes America and American women.

CONCLUSION

We have studied the Polish peasant in his home environment and followed him to this country. Throughout this study we have found numerous striking analogies between his behavior and that of people belonging to other societies—the American society not excepted—whose cultural traditions are entirely different. The attentive reader could not have failed to notice these analogies, particularly when they bore on his own familiar social milieu though we have usually intentionally refrained from pointing them out explicitly and have limited ourselves at most to informal suggestions. This was motivated by considerations of scientific prudence. We did not feel entitled to transfer definite conclusions from one society to other societies, to claim that the socio-psychological laws—or what seem to be laws—found in studying the Polish peasant are also applicable to the American business man, to the Jew, to the Italian peasant or even to the Polish country noble or bourgeois, without having previously investigated these societies at least as thoroughly as we have investigated the Polish peasant communities. Our work does not pretend to give any definitive and universally valid sociological truths, nor to constitute a permanent model of sociological research; it merely claims to be a monograph, as nearly complete as possible under the circumstances, of a limited social group at a certain period of its evolution, which may suggest studies of other groups, more detailed and more perfect methodically, thus helping the investigation of modern

living societies to rise above its present stage of journalistic impressionism, and preparing the ground for the determination of really exact general laws of human behavior. The analogies which we have mentioned are in this respect encouraging, for they allow us to presume that such laws are possible and that their determination will not meet any exceptional difficulties.

On the other hand, our study makes it very clear that a search for similarities in human behavior can lead to valuable and secure results only if it takes fully into account the important differences that exist between various societies, differences due chiefly to the widely varying lines of their past cultural evolution rather than to divergent biological tendencies and unequal natural abilities of their members. The latter standpoint should be invoked only after all purely sociological methods of explaining the variations in their behavior have been tried and failed. The Polish peasant is not and cannot be exactly the same kind of man as the native American, for his character has been moulded by his social milieu and his social milieu has a set of traditions, an organization, a form and standard of living very different in their concrete complexity from those which are familiar to the American reader. Any one whose attitudes have evolved under the influence of the rapidly changing American life, which is full of new experiences, any one trained to look toward unfamiliar emergencies and to meet them by his own initiative, who is accustomed and ready to be influenced in behavior as much, or more, by the indirect stimulation of the written or printed word as by direct human contact, any one for whom the impersonal political, legal, social and economic institutions, with their general and abstract methods of dealing with human

life, are as real in their practical significance as immediately responsive personalities, can neither understand the Polish peasant in Poland nor deal with him as "immigrant" in this country unless he realizes the full meaning of the following facts.

First, the peasant was adapted to the life of a permanent agricultural community, settled for many hundreds of years in the same locality and changing so slowly that each generation adapted itself to the changes with very little effort or abstract reflection. Secondly, the peasant was not accustomed to expect unfamiliar happenings in the course of his life within his community, and if they came relied upon his group, which not only gave him assistance, when necessary, in accordance with the principle of solidarity, but helped him regain his mental balance and recover the feeling that life in general was normal in spite of the unexpected disturbance. Further, the peasant drew all his social stimulations, checks and suggestions from direct social contact with his milieu, and the steadiness and efficiency of his life-organization depended on the continuity of his social intercourse with his own group. Finally he was until quite recently a member of a politically and culturally passive class, did not participate consciously, even in the slightest measure, in any of the impersonal institutions that ever existed in his country.

In view of all this it is not strange that in the different conditions which he finds in this country he becomes more or less disorganized. In fact it is surprising that there is yet so much normal life left and that as time goes on constructive forces assert themselves increasingly in Polish-American communities. This is due entirely and exclusively to the "social spirit" of the immigrant, to his tendency to form groups, to his tradi-

tional ability of social organization. This ability is put here to a more severe test than ever before. Scattered and isolated within a practically unknown, usually indifferent, often contemptuous, sometimes even hostile society, in poor and insecure economic conditions, with very insufficient leadership, and a partly pretentious, selfish, nationalistic and unrest formulation of ideals by this leadership, these small groups of people whose higher interests were indissolubly bound up with their old milieu and who, separated from this milieu, have lost the only real foundation of their cultural life, have already almost succeeded in uniting themselves into one cultural body and in creating institutions which are indubitably factors of progress. These institutions have not prevented a rapid demoralization of those who remain outside of their influence, the new system is neither as rich nor as efficient in controlling the individual as was the old organization, doomed to decay in the new conditions, but this task is beyond the powers of Polish-American society as isolated from American society.

Even if the Polish-American society should maintain in general that separation which its leaders have wished, the cultural level of a *"Polonia Americana"* would always remain lower than that of American society, since its best men are and always will be attracted by the wider and richer field of American civilization. But as to the Polish-American institutions already created, their destruction would mean the removal of the only barrier which now stands between the mass of Polish immigrants and complete wildness. The only method which can check demoralization, make of the immigrants—and particularly of their descendants—valuable and culturally productive members of the American society and imperceptibly, without violence,

lead to their real Americanization is to supplement the existing Polish-American institutions by others—many others—built on a similar foundation but in closer contact with American society.

It must be always remembered that very little can be achieved by dealing with the immigrant sporadically and individually by the "case method." The Polish immigrant is an essentially social being—not "man," not "woman," not "child," in the abstract, but a group member, to be dealt with *in groups.* The only question is how to form groups, and mixed groups including a large percentage of native Americans, with really important productive purposes. There is the enormous, almost untouched field of economic cooperation. A country-wide net of thousands, hundreds of thousands of small cooperative associations, with the active participation of various nationalities, coming together on a basis of real equality and united by serious common aims would do incomparably more for economic self-dependence, for the prevention of demoralization, for the development of active solidarity, for a genuine Americanization of the immigrant than anything that has ever been done to achieve these aims. It would, besides, contribute in a measure to the solution of many of the most difficult problems which American society itself is trying to solve at this moment.

The prevalent general social unrest and demoralization is due to the decay of the primary-group organization, which gave the individual a sense of responsibility and security because he *belonged to something.* This system has given way partly to the forces making for individual efficiency, and we have developed nothing to take its place—no organization which would restore the sense of social responsibility without limiting the ef-

ficiency of the individual. This new form is apparently destined to be the cooperative society, and all immigrant groups, among them perhaps preeminently the Poles, bring to this country precisely the attitudes upon which cooperative enterprises can be built.